ROYALL and LOYALL

BLOOD,

Shed by *CROMWELL* and his Complices, in those unhappy late Rebellious Distractions.

BEING

A full NARRATIVE of all those Persons of Note that Suffered either before the Martyrdom of our late Soveraigne KING CHARLES the First, or after; to the end of those bloody Suffering times.

TOGETHER WITH

Their severall DYING SPEECHES; With the pretended Occasions: Exactly giving an accompt of the Year, Moneth, and Day of every of the said Executions.

Never heretofore so exactly published in Print: And may be bound with the true Copy of the Abridgement of Mr. Reynolds *thirty Tragical Histories.*

The Names and Pages where to find every particular person are prefixed before the beginning of the Book.

LONDON,
Printed for *W. L.* and are to be sold in *Fleetstreet*, *Westminster-hall*, and other Book-sellers shops, 1662.

Royall and Loyall Blood shed by Cromwell and his Complices. 8vo. June 1662 with 10 plates viz.

Ch. 1st — Execution of Ch. 1. — A Bp. Laud — Ld. Strafford — D. Hamilton — Ld. Holland — Ld. Capell — Ld. Derby — Ld. Montross — Ld. Lindsey —

the first ed: in Decr. 1661. had only the 6 of these which are underlined, so that this has 4 plates besides 35 leaves of new trials not to be found in the 1st edition — but as that 1st ed: has a plate of Sr. T. Overbury — 3 trials — & a Brief Chronicle of 35 leaves not in this 2d edition; it is necessary to have both — they are both very rare —

4135

The
Grenville
Library

ROYALL and LOYALL

BLOOD,

Shed by CROMWELL and his Complices, in those unhappy late Rebellious Distractions.

BEING

A full NARRATIVE of all those Persons of Note that Suffered either before the Martyrdom of our late Soveraigne KING CHARLES the First, or after; to the end of those bloody Suffering times.

TOGETHER WITH

Their severall DYING SPEECHES; With the pretended Occasions: Exactly giving an accompt of the Year, Moneth, and Day of every of the said Executions.

Never heretofore so exactly published in Print: And may be bound with the true Copy of the Abridgement of Mr. Reynolds *thirty Tragical Histories.*

The Names and Pages where to find every particular person are prefixed before the beginning of the Book.

LONDON,
Printed for *W. L.* and are to be sold in *Fleetstreet*, *Westminster-hall*, and other Book-sellers shops, 1662.

BL

To the Reader.

YOU have here presented the entire account of all that Loyal Innocent Blood, which hath been shed by those guilty and violent Tribunals of our late distracted Government. Our crying sins had extorted the Judgments of God upon the Land, not only giving us up to the Fury, but also to the envious Malice, and deliberated Cruelty of prevalent Rebellion; which found no better Colour to varnish over their illegall Actions, then the Blood of good Subjects, nay of the best Prince the World ever enjoyed, hoping thereby to impose upon the People their own Revenges and State Murthers, for the Execution of the Lawes, (pursuing such demerits) which in the method, formality, and solemnity of the Infliction and Punishment was so exactly imitated: Yea so Impious were they grown in this art of slaughter, that they durst inscribe the Divine Vengeance to their own Impotent Passions, and the feeble Artifices of usurpt Authority. To this purpose time,

and

and places were accomodated to their Sentences, *which must point at, and indigitate the due expiation of their ſuppoſed Crimes, as if God himſelf had overtaken, and juſtly, and in the ſame manner and meaſure retaliated them upon their Heads.*

'Tis a due Parentation therefore and Juſtice *indeed to thoſe Martyrs, to vindicate their Name and Memory from thoſe black Aſperſions, which was then mixed with their Rubrick, to let the World ſee, not their Innocence alone, (for Heaven hath proclaimed that by undeniable demonſtration, having baffled their Perſecutors at their own argument of Divine Vengeance) but their ſuper excellent vertues with which they were adorned here, whereof theſe their Chriſtian and Glorious Ends were the Conſummation and Crown: They have been imperfectly and partially delivered before, but in this Collection they are compleated and perfected, and ſome other infamouſly famous Murders in the Nation added. The moſt of this Book about the beginning of this year, was often bound at the end of the true Copy of the Abridgement of Mr.* Reynolds *thirty Tragical Hiſtories, to undeceive the Buyer of a falſe Copy, called* BLOOD for BLOOD, *about a year ſince publiſhed; this may be had together or ſingle, the whole endeavour is ſubmitted to your Approbation.*

June 6. 1662. Vale.

The Copy being left confuſed by reaſon of urgent buſineſs of the Authors, the Printer was forced to take it as he found it, which hath cauſed theſe miſplacings of Names, and miſtakes of Folio, which the Reader is deſired candidly to excuſe, and accept of them as they are rectified in this Table.

	Fol.
KIng *Charls* the Royal Martyr, the firſt ſheet and half un-numbered.	
Dr. *William Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*	1
Thomas Earl of *Strafford*, L. Deputy of *Ireland*	17
Mr. *Yeomans*, and Mr *Bourchier* of *Briſtoll*, the firſt	31
Mr. *Tompkins* and Mr. *Chaloner*	36
Mr. *Daniel Kniveton*	38
Captain *Burleigh*	40
Sir *Charls Lucas*, and Sir *George Liſle*	42
Major *Pitcher*	47
Col. *Poyer*	49
Mr. *Beaumont*	50
James Duke *Hamilton* the ſecond	31
Henry Rich Earl of *Holland*	43
Arthur Lord *Capel*	47
Col. *John Morris*	32
Cornet *Michael Backburn*	36
Col. *Euſebius Andrews*, for want of full information twice printed, the laſt Speech the trueſt.	
Dr. *Levens*	100
Captain *Benſon*	101

Mr.

Mr. *Cooper*, Major *Saul*, and twenty more executed in *Norfolk*, 1650. 103
Captain *Brown Bushel* 105
Mr. *Love* and Mr. *Gibbons* 106
Sir *Timothy Featherstonhaugh* and Col. *Benbow* 107
Mr. *Vowel* 108
Col. *John Gerrard* 113
Col. *Penrnddock*, Col. *Grove*, Mr. *Lucas*, Mr. *Kensey*, Mr. *Thorpe* 122
James Earl of *Derby* 128
James Marquess of *Montross* the last 24
Sir *Robert Spotswood*, and other Scotch Gentlemen
Sir *William Hay* of *Dalgesie*, *&c.* 180
Col. *Hammond*, and other Irish Loyal Protestants by *Cromwell*, with the Massacre of *Drogheda* 189. 190
Sir *Henry Hide* 193
Dr. *Hewit* and Sir *Henry Slingsby* 203
Captain *Symkins*, and other English, on the account of the Rising in 1655. at the same with Mr. *Penruddock*. 211. viz.
Col. *Ashton*, *Betteley*, and *Stacy* 214

Royal and Loyall

BLOOD,

Spilt by

Cromwel and his Party, &c.

The Martyrdome *of our late* Soveraign, *King* CHARLES the I. *of ever blessed and glorious memory.*

THe Gradation of those violences, which over-bore the power of the Laws, and shook the whole frame of Government, proceeded at last to the destruction and overthrow of the pillar and support of both; the repidations forerunning in the calamity of the subject, like an earthquake, rending all in pieces at last, in the final Catastrophe and ruine of their Liege Lord, and most gracious and vertuous Soveraign; to such a terrour & consternation of the Kingdomes,

Kingdoms, as if the cry of the first-born had been resounded (after other our plagues and miseries) in this *Englands* doleful Tradgedy.

The crying sin of His blood is a crime of such a magnitude (if at all it be capable of being confind to any quantity) that horror and trembling are the best abilities to expres it, and the grief and sorrow for it so dismal, that it refuseth the lenitives and smooth asswagements of all Rhetorick, as too imperious and masterless for our reason.

Yea, Posterity also can never see it in so sad and monstrous a shape as our eyes have beheld it; nor may the anger of Heaven derive its wrath any further, in the terrible effects, or representation of the same miseries we have undergone so that they may sadly feel the curse of the Fruit of that treasonable and most flagitious Fact And therefore it will be to no purpose to enlarge upon this sorrowfull subject, for which so much lamentation hath been taken up already, that there is no stock left for a new beginner; yea our most grateful and pious heart-breakings (even in those who wished to expire with him (as some did) are trivial and inconsiderable sacrifices to his most glorious Memory.

As therefore the Phœnix consecrates its self to eternity from the pure flames of its own fewelling, so will we, out of the precious box of oyntment, prepared by this Royal Martyr himself, in his most excellent Portraiture, embalm his Name to Immortality, beginning where he was ending (for it were too great an enterprize to enumerate all the passages of his blessed Life) at his first captivity at *Holmby* House, and with this divine sentence, the Idea of his Christian patience, the most exercised, and therefore the most conspicuous of his Graces, and which indeed, is the compendium of them all, *Patientem cum dixeris omnia dixis.*

I care not much to be reckoned among the unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious and sacrilegious Princes. No restraint shall ensnare my soule in Sinne; nor gaine that of me, which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed. Neither Liberty, nor Life, are so dear to

to me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the Honour of my Crowns, and the welfare of my people. If my Captivity or Death be the price of their Redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

Nor are thoſe Divine words ever to be forgotten, which the Denial of his Chaplains attendance drew from *his Moſt excellent Majeſty*; *viz.* To denie me the Ghoſtly Comfort of my Chaplains, ſeems a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt priſoners, and greateſt Malefactors; whom though the Juſtice of the Law deprive of worldly Comforts, yet the mercy of Religion, allows them the benefit of their Clergy; as not aiming at once to deſtroy their bodies, and to damn their ſouls. But my agony muſt not be relieved with any one good Angel; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and diſcreet Divine; and ſuch I would have all mine to be. They that envy my being a King, are loth I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while they ſeek to deprive me of all things elſe, they are afraid I ſhould ſave my ſoul. I am ſuch a friend to Church-men, that I have hazarded my own Intereſts, chiefly upon conſcience & conſtancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the ſacrilegious tyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it my duty the more to appear as a father, and a Patron for them and the Church. As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Chriſtian King, ſo I deſire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent then my own or other mens: by how much they flow from minds more enlightened, and affections leſſe diſtracted, then thoſe that were encumbred with ſecular affairs.

Beſides, I think a greater bleſſing and acceptableneſs attends thoſe duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling to which God and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men. I muſt confeſſe, I bear with more grief and impatience for the want of my 6. Chaplains then of any other my ſervants; and next (if not beyond

in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and children; since from these indeed more of humane and temperary affections, but from Those more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected. My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his lifes and graces.

In the next place, I cannot forbear to repeat those gallant expresses of *this Good King's* Charity and Religion in his instructions to the Prince, *viz.* I have offered Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws, and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities. I would have you alwayes propense to the same way; whenever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted; not onely as an Act of State-Policy and necessity, but of Christian Charity and Choice. It is all I have now left me: a power to forgive those that have deprived me of all, and I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this Grace, which God hath given me, as in all my former injoyments. for, this is a greater argument of Gods love to me, then any prosperity can bee. Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or misapprehension of things. None will be more loyall and faithfull to me and you, then those Subjects, who sensible of their errors and our injuries, will feel in their souls most vehement motives to Repentance, and earnest desires to make some Reparations for their former defects. If You never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barberous Imprisonment and obscurity (which the Perfecting some, Mens designes requires) wherin few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with me; I do require and intreat you as a Father, and your King, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true religion established

ſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, I tell you, I have tryed it, and after much ſearch and many diſputes have concluded it to be the beſt in the world; not onely in the Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpecial notion as reformed; keeping the middle way between Pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny and the meaneſs of Phantaſtick Anarchy. Not but that (the Draught being excellent, as to the main, both for doctrine and Government in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good Figures, may haſtily need ſome ſweetning, or polliſhing, which might here have eaſily have been done by a ſafe and gentle hand, if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude alteration, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole. The Scandall of the ſame troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or your own thoughts in this: that ſcarce any one who hath been a beginner, or an active proſecutor of this Late Warr againſt the Church, the Laws and Miniſtry, either was, or is a true lover, embracer or practicer of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch Rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples. But let not counterfeit and diſorderly zeal abate your value and eſteem of true Piety. Keep you to true principles of piety, virtue and honour, you ſhall never want a Kingdome. My Prayer to God Almighty is (what ever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God wrapt up and fortifi'd in my own innocency, and his grace) that he would be pleaſed to make you an Anchor or harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdomes: a Repairer, by your wiſdome, Juſtice, Piety and valour, of what the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience or Lives. When, they have deſtroyed Me, as I doubt not but my blood will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo I

beſeech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the people who have either deſerted me, or engaged againſt me, through the Artifices aand hypocriſie of their Leaders; whoſe inward Horrour will be their firſt Tormentor, nor will they eſcape exemplary Judgements. For thoſe that loved me, I pray God they may have no miſs of me when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope, that all good Subjects may be ſatisfied with the bleſſings of your preſence and virtues. For thoſe that repent of any defects in their duty towards me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian King, ſo I believe you will find them truly virtuous to repay with intereſt that loyalty and love to you, which was due to me, In ſumme, what good I intended, do you perform, when God ſhall give you power. Much good I have offered, much I purpoſed to Church and State if times had been capable of it. The deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the vizards will fall off apace: this mask of religion upon the face of rebellion will not long ſerve to hide ſome mens deformities. Happy times, I hope, attend you, wherein your Subjects, by their miſeries, will have learned; that religion to their God & Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their ſin and infelicity. I pray God bleſs you, and eſtabliſh your Kingdomes in righteouſneſſe, your ſoul in true Religion, and your honour in the love of God and your people. And let my memorie ever, with my Name, live in you, as of your Father that loves you, and once a King of 3. flowriſhing Kingdomes; who God thought fit to honour not only with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerve the rights of the Church, the power of the Law, the honour of my Crown the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of my people, and my own conſcience, which, I thank God, is dearer to me then a Thouſand Kingdomes.

Thus that *King* and *Prophet* ſpake to his Royal Son, our preſent moſt gracious Soveraign. Whereunto it will

will be very pertinent to adde ſome of his Meditations upon Death, after his cloſer impriſonment. *viz.* I have now eſpecially, cauſe to meditate, ſaith He, and prepare for my death; knowing, there are but few ſteps between the priſons and graves of Princes. I thank God, my proſperity made me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality. And, although my death at preſent may juſtly be preſented to me, with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can hut upon it (Affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſſe God, I can look upon thoſe ſtings as unpoiſonous, though ſharp ſince my Redeemer hath either pul'd them out, or given me the Antidote of his death againſt them: which, as to the immaturity, Injuſtice, ſhame, ſcorn and cruelty of it, exceeded what ever I can fear. Indeed, I never did find ſo much the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts, with the thoughts of death. My enemies have left me but little of life, and only the huſk and ſhell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me; having bereaved me of all thoſe Worldly comforts, for which life it ſelf ſeems, deſirable to men. But, O my ſoul, think not that life too long or tedious wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian patience and magnanimity in a good cauſe, as are the greateſt honour of our lives, and the beſt improvement of our deaths. That I muſt dye as a man, is certain; That I may dye as a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, ſudden and barbarous death, in the ſtrength of my years, in the midſt of my Kingdomes; my Friends and loving Subjects being helpleſſe Spectators; my enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over me, living, dying and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon that God hath taught me not to hope otherwiſe as to mans cruelty; however, I deſpair not of Gods infinite mercy. I confeſſe, it is not eaſie for me to contend with theſe many horrours of death, wherewith God

ſuffers

ſuffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſſe of a barbarous Aſſaſination or in thoſe formalities, whereby my enemies (being more ſolemnly cruel) will, it may be, ſeek to adde (as thoſe did, who crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice to the cruelty of malice; that I may be deſtroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo with leſſe piety; it will be but a neceſſarie policie to make my death appear as an act of Juſtice, donе by Subjects upon their Soveraign; who know that no law of God, or man inveſts them with any power of Judicature without me, much leſſe gainſt me; and, who, being ſworn and bound by all that is ſacred before God and man, to endeavour my preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their perjurie. It is indeed a ſad Fate for any man to have his enemies his Accuſers, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate when it is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraign; wherein Thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publick troubles, muſt by ſhedding my blood ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now moſt evidently guiltie before God and Man. Well, God's will be done. I doubt not but my innocencie will find him both my Protector and my Advocate, whom I own as King of Kings; not onely for the eminency of his power and Majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them; who knows them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the great Patrons of Law, juſtice, Order and Religion on Earth) as there be either men or devils which love confuſion. Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*; who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings. I am confident they will find avengers of my death among themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them, ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing me. I bleſs God, I pray not ſo much that this bitter cup of violent death may paſs from me, as that of his wrath may paſſe

away

away from all thoſe, whoſe hands, by deſerting me are ſprinkled; or, by acting and conſenting to my death, are imbrued with my blood. My greateſt Conqueſt of death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallowed up death in the victorie of his Reſurrection and the glorie of his Aſcention. They cannot deſire of me more then *I* am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from me; whoſe mercy, *I* believe, will more then infinitely recompence, whatever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive me of. For the cenſures of the World, *I* know the ſharp and neceſſary Tyrannie of my deſtroyers, will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyrannie againſt me: *I* am perſwaded, *I* am happie in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subjects not only pitie and pray for me bu would be content even to dye with me, or for me. My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in my peace, which I truſt, is made with God: before whoſe exact Tribunall I ſhall not fear to appear, as to cauſe the ſo long diſputed by the ſword, between me and my cauſleſs enemies; where, *I* doubt not, but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacie, who, from Worldly ſucceſſe (rather like ſophiſters, then ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions: whoſe wiſe providence (vve knovv oft permits many events, which his revealed Word the only clear ſafe and fixed Rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approves. *I* ſhall be more then Conquerour, through Chriſt enabling me, for whom *I* have hitherto ſuffered, as he is the Authour of truth, Order, and peace, for all which *I* have been forced to contend againſt errour, faction and confuſion. Nor do *I* wiſh other then the ſafe bringing of the Ship to ſhore, when they have caſt me overboard: though it be very ſtrange that *Mariners* can find no other means to appeaſe the Storm themſelves have raiſed, but by drowning their *Pilot*.

His

His Prayer.

IF thou, Lord, wilt be with me, I ſhall neither fear nor feel any evill, though I walk through the Vally of the ſhadow of death. To contend with death, is the work of a weak and mortall man: to overcome it is the grace of Thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God. O my Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to dy with me, as a man; make me to know what it is to to paſs through death to life with thee my God. Thou giveſt me leave as a man, to pray, that this Cup may paſs away from me; but thou haſt taught me as a Chriſtian to adde, Not my Wil, but thine be done. Yea Lord, let our Wils be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine. Though my Deſtroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be merciſull unto them. O deal not with them as blood-thirſty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compaſſion and my charity. And, when their hands ſhall be heavieſt and cruelleſt upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and Eternall mercies; That what is cut off of my life in this miſerable moment, may be repayed in thy ever bleſſed Eternity. Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.

TO come unto the laſt Act of this bleſſed King; The Houſe of Commons was now reduced to about 40. Members (a loathed piece of the *RUMP*) not only the leaſt but the worſt Part of the Houſe, and the very dregs, and many of theſe Offices of the Army. Theſe few are not aſhamed to arrogate unto themſelves a Power to govern *All*, to make and unmake *Laws*, to judge the King, to change the Kingdome to that which they called a Common-Wealth. They decree, that the ſupream power is in the people: That the power belongs unto the repreſentatives, and namely to themſelves: that their Acts without conſent of King or Lords, have the force of Laws: That to raiſe Warre and bear Arms againſt the repreſentative or Parliament is no leſs then Treaſon. That the King himſelf had taken Arms againſt the Parliament, and was guilty of all the blood of the late war, and his blood was required. Hereupon they erect a new Tribunal of Subjects, and thoſe of the meaner quality, againſt their King, and to procure ſome reverence from the Name, they ſtile it, *The High-Court of Juſtice*. To this Court they give power to arraign, hear, judge and put to death *Charles Stuart King of England*.

Into the number of Judges they aſcribe ſix Lords of the upper Houſe, the Judges of the Land newly choſen by themſelves, but the greateſt part were Commanders in the Army (who had before conſpired and determined the Kings death) & members of the Houſe of Commons, *Anti*-Royaliſts: the reſt of *London*, or near, Mechanicks, Banckrupts and debaucht, whom yet their fellows magnified with the Title of *Saints*. None of them, but by this publick ſervice hoped for impunity and ſpoils of the Kings Revenues, houſes and goods, to repair and enlarge their private fortunes.

The *Lords* of the upper Houſe were had in very low eſteem, and 'twas believed they would all except four or five of the faction, abſent themſelves and forſake the Houſe for fear. *And* the Conſpiratours thought two or three of the *Lords* would be enough to give ſome countenance to the buſineſs. But beyond expectation, that day when the Bill for the Kings Tryall was brought to

the

the Upper House, are present seventeen Lords, who do all (without exception) not only refuse to assent, but reject the Bill as dangerous and grounded upon no Law,

Upon this, the Lords are expunged out of the *List* of the Kings Judges. And a little after, the Judges of the Land (chosen by the Factious) having been asked their Opinion privately, and answered. *That it is against the received Laws and Customes of* England, *to bring the King to Tryall*, are stricken out of that Black *List* also.

To this Court they advance a fit President, *John Bradshaw*, a man of obscure birth, of ill Fame, of a bold forehead, and petulant Tongue.

Whilst they are consulting and preparing for the Tryall, the Presbyterian Preachers of *London*, almost all, and some of the Independent too, declare, protests and petition against it. Two of the Kings Divines, Doctor *Hammond* and Doctor *Gawden*, publish their Addresses. They beseech by the Obligation of so many Oaths, fortified with declarations and solemn promises; by the laws of Nations, by the same Dictates of holy Scripture and Christian Religion, by the love of their Native Country and all things dear unto them, that they would not bring the Kings blood upon themselves and the Kingdome. The Scots by their *Delegates*, make protestation to the contrary: The States by their Embassadours intercede. The Nobles of *England*, namely *Southhampton*, *Richmond*, *Hartford*, *Lindsey* and others, do their utmost; offering their heads to the King. The people murmur, but are over-aw'd and dis-arm'd. Prince *Charles* (our present Soveraign the Second of that Name) labours to relieve his Father by all means possible. Besides the Embassadors for the States (sent upon his request) he dayly sends over from the Prince of *Orange* and Himself, Agents and Emissaries: the Kinsmen and relations of *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, and of other the Conspirators, with full power to pray, to promise, to threaten, use all Arguments that the Tryall might be avoided, or at least for some time delayed. But all is in vain

The

The Rebellious Innovators contemn all Mediation, couraging themselves with a pretence of divine providence and impulse of the holy Spirit, That notorious brazen-fac'd *Peters*, from the Pulpit perswades them, *Now is the time for Saints* (thus does the profane fellow abuse the holy Scripture) *to bind the Kings of the earth in chains, and their Nobles with links of Iron. To you belongs the Prophesie: You are the Saints: And I am assured; there are in one Army five Thousand men, as good Saints as are in Heaven it self.* Then kneeling down, and crying, and lifting up his hands, *I beg you*, saith he, *in the name of the People of* England to do Justice *upon* Charles, *and let not* Benhadad *our Enemy escape out of your hands.*

Thus are the Judges hot enough of themselves more and more enflamed.

And now is the most sacred *CHARLES*, King of Three Kingdomes (had it not been for these Traytors) most flourishing, brought before these judges, sitting on their New Tribunall, to be deprived both of his Kingdomes and of his life. He appears with a Majestick countenance, and an Heroick mind. The *Accusation* is read of great length, and with much *Aggravation*: the main Charge and Summo of all, *That he had raised War against the Parliament.* (Which Parliament, those very men that served under the *Parliament*, and were payed with the *Parliament*-mony, had before this day overthrown and trampled on, scarce leaving a shadow of it;) A great multitude of Spectarors mean while, with sighs and tears deploring the Fortune of the best of Princes. The Noble *Lady Fairfax* (Daughter to the Old Famous Lord, Generall *Vere*) must here be mentioned with honour. Who upon the reading of the *Kings* Charge to the hazard of her life, cryed from her standing, with a loud voice; (relating to the accusation made in the Name of the people of *England*) *That's a lye, 'Tis not the peoples doing, this is not of a tenth parts; but the Plot of the Traytor* Crom. The K. having heard the charge, with voice & gesture full of *Majesty*, demands of these Iudges of their own Creation. *By what authority do you judge your King*

a King by all right ſupreame over you? and that againſt the Publick Faith, given lately in the Treaty with both Houſes? I ſay, by what lawfull authority? For I am not ignorant, there be too many lawleſs powers, ſuch as of Thieves and Robbers. Let me know by what Law you can challenge this power you aſſume, and then I will anſwer: if you cannot ſhew your Warrant, take heed what you do; do not bring a guilt of blood upon your ſelves and the Kingdomes. As for me, I am reſolved not to betray the power God hath committed to the King, confirmed by a long deſcent The Preſident objects, and ſaith, He is called to Tryall by the Right of the people of England, by whoſe Election he was made King: His Majeſty replies; The Kingdome is not elective, but hereditary, for theſe Thouſand years, and by lawfull ſucceſſion divolved to him: he will maintain the true rights of the people, better then they do. Theſe Rights and power of the people are ſeen beſt in Parliaments. A Parliament hath in it a King and Lords: None of the Lords are here, neither one nor both Houſes, nor any Tribunal on earth can judge the King of England; much leſs, ſuch men as theſe; let them ſhew their authority, and he will anſwer and make his defence; but 'tis ſin to acknowledge this unlawfull, as to reject the lawfull power. In ſpeaking this, his Majeſty was often interrupted by the Preſident, and at length commanded away to his priſon. He is brought again a ſecond and third time; The Preſident requires him to anſwer to the Charge, or he muſt hear the ſentence of death; The King perſiſts in calling for the authority of the Court: his life is not ſo dear to him as his honour, his conſcience, the laws, the liberty of his people: for the preſervation of all which he hath great Reaſons, why he muſt not plead before theſe Judges, nor own this new form of judgement. For what power have Subjects to judge their King? or by what Law? Not by Divine: For they command Obedience to Princes. Not by humane or laws of the Land: for the laws of England require all tryalls to be made in the Kings Name, and give no power to the Houſe of Commons to judge even the meaneſt Subject. Nor is that power derived from any extraordinary Commiſſion

Cõmiſſion from the people, that may be imagined; for not one of ten (he might have ſaid not one of a Thouſand) evet gave his conſent. The Preſident now, as formerly interrupts his Majeſty, rebukes him, and bids him remember the condition he is in. The Court are ſatisfied in their own authority; neither can they hear any Reaſon againſt it. *A ſtrange Court* (ſaith the King) *that can hear no Reaſon.* Such you will find this Court to be, quoth the Preſident. The King is inſtant, that they would receive his Reaſons in writing; if they ſatisfie them, he will yield to their juriſdiction. Here the Preſident is impatient, and commands the Guard to take to his Majeſty away. *Remember, ſaith he, you will not hear your King; in vain ſhall my Subjects expect any right from you, when you ſtop your ears againſt the Reaſons of your King.*

His *Majeſtie* being the Fourth time brought before the Court, is ſharply checked by the Preſident (now in Scarlet) for Contumacie, and the Court extolled for longanimity. Submit your ſelf (ſaith the Preſident) to the Court, or ſentence will be pronounced. The King is the ſame he was, will not ſubmit, but deſires liberty to declare ſome things pertaining to the good of his people, & peace of the Kingdome, in preſence of both Houſes. This favour being denied, the Preſident, after an Invective againſt his Majeſty, commands the ſentence of death to be read; in confirmation whereof *All* the Iudges preſent, being in Number 67, (there were choſen 150.) Stand up, as it were priding themſelves in the boldeſt Act that ever the Sunne beheld.

His ſacred *Majeſty* is taken away by the Souldiers; and (as Chriſt was) mocked. And as at firſt they had cryed *Juſtice, Juſtice*, ſo now (like Iews) *Execution, Execution*: they ſpit upon his cloaths as he paſſeth by, one or two upon his face; they blow in his face the ſmoak of their Tobacco (which they knew he hated) and throw their broken pipes before his feet; they beat any that

after

offer to ſalute him, and knock down one that ſighed, *O Lord have mercy, &c.* they thruſt into his Chamber and diſturb his privacy; and when with ſome difficulty the Biſhop of *London* was permitted to wait on his *Majeſty*, they laugh and jeer at the Common-prayers; and with their ſcoffs and frivolous Queſtions endeavour to hinder his preparation for the hour of death.

But the King, with invincible conſtancy, endureth all things. When the Souldiers cryed out *Juſtice* and *Execution*, He ſaid, *Poor ſouls, they would do as much for a little mony againſt their own Commanders.* When he wiped the ſpittle off his face, He ſaid, *Chriſt hath ſuffered more then this for my ſake.*

The Officers and Souldiers, and other Phanaticks that moleſted him with their *Queſtions* and diſputes; he repreſſed again, with ſolid Arguments and ſilienced. Their Scoffs, and jeers and petulancy he anſwered and evaded by contempt and neglect.

And in there ſtraits of time amoug barbarous incivilities of Soldiers- He applyed himſelf, with a compoſed Religious mind, to confeſſing of his ſins, to forgiving of his enemies, to receiving of the bleſſed Sacrament, to reading of the ſcripture, to holy Conference, and all pious duties: that he might guard himſelf with divine favour againſt the hatred of wicked men; and arm himſelf with Chriſtian courage againſt the hour of approaching death.

The

THe day before his death, he was tempted by ſom Soldiers with an offer of Propoſitions, and a promiſe of his Life and Crown if he would yield to them: but at the firſt hearing of ſome of them, *I had rather*, ſaith *He*, *dye a thouſand deaths, then thus to proſtitute mine Honour and the libertiesof my people.*

The fatall day is come, and the King having on his Armour of Innocence and holineſſe comes forth of Saint *James's* with a cheerfull look, and marches on foot among the Soldiers along the Park (as it were to hunt) bidding them march faſter; and ſaying, *He was going to Win a Heavenly Crown with leſs ſolicitude, then he had fought for his earthly Diadem.*

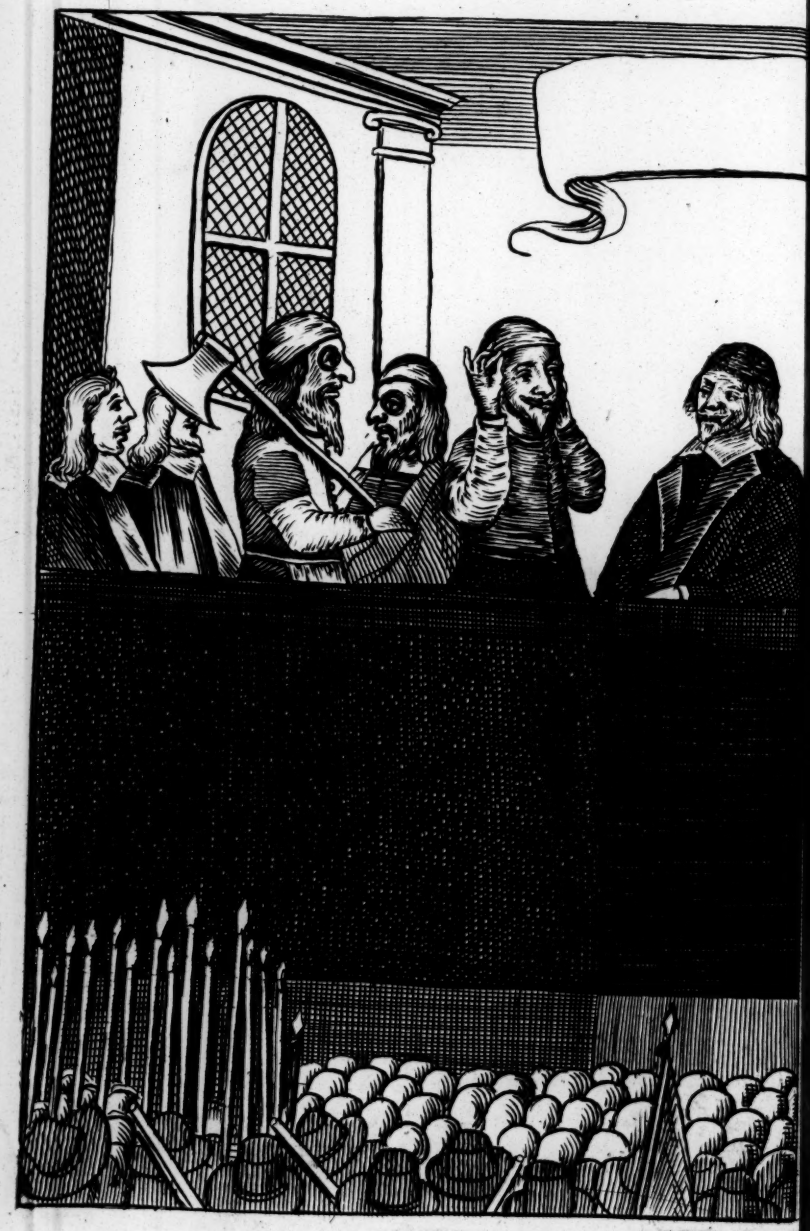
Having paſſed about an hour in *White-Hall*, with the Lord Biſhop of *London* about the care of the *Prince* (*his Majeſty that now is*) he proceeds to the Scaffold erected before the Gate near the banquetting-Houſe, and ſeeing he could not be heard by the people, kept off by Troops Horſe, He turned to the Officers and the reſt about him, and ſpake thus.

Here followeth the SPEECH of CHARLES the Firſt KING of *England, &c.*

His Speech.

‘I must say some thing to you, least my silence should be interpreted as an Argument of Guilt. God is my witnesse (to whose just Tribunall ‘I am now going) that I never intended to diminish ‘the due priviledges of Parliament, nor raised an *Army*, ‘before they did as appears by Dates of Commissions on ‘both sides. But I most humbly submit to the divine ‘Justice, and acknowledge this unjust Sentence to be a ‘just punishment from God upon Me, who had not the ‘courage to deliver an innocent Man. (*Strafford*) from ‘an unjust sentence. I suffered him to be oppressed, and ‘am now my self oppressed. What charity I have for ‘cruell enemies this honest man (the Bp. of *London*) can ‘testifie. I heartily pardon them all, and beseech the ‘God of mercy to fit them for his pardon by granting ‘them repentance for their evill deeds. And I will ‘shew you the ways from which you have strayed, to which you must return; the way of peace to your ‘selves and the Kingdome. You are miserably, out of ‘the way, in usurping the Government upon Title of the ‘sword, without any coulour of right: for your victory ‘cannot give a right, where the cause of War is unjust, ‘neither can successe legitimate unlawful actions. Your ‘right way to peace (and to avert Gods vengeance) is ‘to restore to God, to the King, to the people their several Dues; to God, by setting up again his pure Worship and settling the Church lamentably shaken, according

B L



The King being come upon the Scaffold, look'd very earneſtly upon the Block, and asked Col. Hacker *if there were no higher: and then ſpake thus (directing his Speech chiefly to Col.* Thomlinſon.)

I Shall be very little heard of any body elſe, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word to you here: Indeed I could have held my peace very well, if I did not think, that holding my peace, would make ſome men think, that I did ſubmit to the Guilt, as well as to the Puniſhment: But I think it is my duty to God firſt, and then to my Country, to clear my ſelf, both as an honeſt man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian. I ſhall begin firſt, with my *Innocency*; and, in troath, I think it not very needful for me to inſiſt long upon this: For all the world knows, that I did never begin a *War* with the *two Houſes of Parliament*; and I *call God to witneſs*, unto whom I muſt ſhortly make an account, that I did never intend to incroach upon their *Priviledges*: They began upon me; it is the *Militia* they began upon: They confeſs the *Militia* was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me. And to be ſhort, if any body will look to the dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe to the Declaration, he will ſee clearly, that they began theſe unhappy *Troubles*, not I. So as for

the guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope that God will clear me out. I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the *two Houſes of Parliament*, there is no neceſſity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt; but I believe, that ill Inſtruments between them and me, have been the chief cauſe of all this blood-ſhed: So that as I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too; Yet for all this, God forbid, that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay, that Gods judgements are juſt upon me: Many times he doth pay Juſtice by an unjuſt Sentence, that is ordinary: I will ſay this, *That unjuſt Sentence that I ſuffered to take effect, is puniſhed by an unjuſt Sentence upon me:* So far I have ſaid, to ſhew you, *that I am an Innocent man.* Now to ſhew you, *that I am a good Chriſtian*; I hope there is a good man that will bear me witneſs, that I have forgiven all the world, and even thoſe in particular, that have been the chief cauſers of my death: Who they are, God knows, I do not deſire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my charity muſt go further, I wiſh that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great ſin in that particular; I pray God with *S. Stephen, that this be not laid to their charge*: And withall, that they may take the way to the peace of the Kingdome; for my charity commands me, not only to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the laſt gaſp, the peace of the Kingdome. So (Sirs) I do wiſh with all my ſoul: (I ſee there are ſome here that will carry

carry it further) that they endeavour the peace of the Kingdome. (Sirs) I muſt ſhew you, both how you are out of the way, and put you in a way. Firſt, you are out of the way, for certainly all the ways you ever had yet, as far as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conqueſt: Certainly this is an ill way; for Conqueſt, in my Opinion, is never juſt, except there be a juſt and good cauſe, either for matter of wrong, or a juſt title; and then if ye go beyond the firſt quarrel that ye have, that makes it unjuſt at the end, that was juſt at firſt: for if there be only matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great robbery; as a Pirate ſaid to *Alexander*, *That he was a great Robber, himſelf was but a petty Robber*: And ſo Sirs, I think, for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way. Now, Sirs, to put you in the way, believe it you ſhall never go right, nor God will never proſper you, until you give God his due, the King his due (that is, my Succeſſor) and the people their due; I am as much for them as any of you. You muſt give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church, according to the Scripture, (which is, now out of order.) And to ſet you in a way particularly, now I cannot; but only this, A National Synod freely called, freely debating among themſelves, muſt ſettle this: When every Opinion is freely heard. For the King, indeed I will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly inſtruct you for that; therefore becauſe it concerns mine own particular, I only give you a touch of it. For the People, truly I deſire their liberty and freedome as much as any body whomſoever: But I muſt tell

you

you, that their liberty and their freedome consist in having Government under those Laws, by which their lives and theirs may be most their own; it is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a Soveraign are clean different things; and therefore until you do that, I mean, that you put the people into that liberty, as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs, it was for this that now I am come hither, for if I would have given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the Sword, I need not have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the *MARTYR* of the people. Introath Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer, I will only say this to you, that I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this, what I have said, a little better digested then I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuse me; I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God you take those courses, that are best for the good of the Kingdome, and your own Salvation.

Additions out of Mr Fullers *Church-History.* XI *B.* p. 237

AFter his death, on Wednesday sennight, the Kings corps being embalmed and coffined in Lead, was delivered to the care of his two Servants, to be buried at *Windsor*. They brought the Corps to *Windsor* that night. *Feb.* 5 and digged a Grave for it in St. *Georges* Chappell; on the south-side the Communion-Table.

But the next day, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquesse of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey* (others, though sent to, denying the service) came to Windsor, and brought with them two Votes passed that morning in Parliament. Wherein the ordering of the Kings Buriall, for the form and manner thereof, was wholly committed to the Duke of Richmond, provided, that the expence thereof exceeded not 500*l.*

The Governour would not permit the Corps to be buried according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*.

THE NAMES and severall Punishments of the KINGS pretended Judges and their Officers are as followeth.

Dead before the KINGS most happy Return

*Oliver Cromwell
Henry Ireton.
John Bradshaw
*Sir John Danvers.
*Sir John Bourchier
*Thomas Maleverer
*John Blakiston
Thomas Pride
Isaac Ewer
John Alured
Colonell Richard Dean
*Humphery Edwards
*William Purefoy
*Sir William Constable
*Anthony Stapeley
*Sir Gregory Norton
*Thomas Wogan.
*John Venn
*Francis Allen
*Peregrin Pelham
Thomas Andrews
*Thomas Horton
*John Fry
Thomas Hammond
*Tho. Lord Gray of Groby
*John Moor

Fled since.

COlonell *Whaley*
Colonell *Okey*
* Sir *Michael Livesy*
Colonell *Goffe*
* *Valentine Walton*
* *William Say*
* *Daniel Blagrave*
* Lieut. Gen. *Ludlow*
* *William Cawley*
Col. *Berkstead*
* *Joh. Liste*
Colonell *Hewson*
* *Cornelius Holland*
* *Miles Corbet*
* *Thomas Challoner*
* *John Dixwell*
* *Nickolas Love.*

Executed according to LAW

THomas *Harrison*
* *John Carew.*
John Cook the pretended Solliciter General.
Hugh Peters
* *Thomas Scot*
* *Gregory Clement.*
Adrian Scroop,
* *John Jones*
Francis Hacker
Daniel Axtell.

Attainted and condemned and now in the Tower, where they are to remain till the pleasure of the Parliament.

* HEnry *Marten*
* *August. Garland*
* *George Fleetwood.*
* *James Temple*
Col. *Owen Rowe.*
Col. *Robert Titchburn*
* *Gilbert Millington*
Coll. *Robert Lilburn.*
* *Peter Temple*
* *Vincent Potter*
* *John Downes*
* *Thomas Waite*
* *Isaac Pennington*
* *Henry Smith*
* *Edmond Harvey*
Sir *Hardresse Waller.*
* *William Heveningham*

These

These persons for sitting in the High Court, *viz.* degradation of Honour & Title; to be drawn on a Sledge from the Tower of *London*, on the 27. of *Jan.* next, to Tyburn, with *Ropes* about their necks, and so back again to perpetual imprisonment, and forfeit their Estates. *Vide* Statute.

* *Wil.* Lord *Munson.*
* Sr. *H. Moldmay*
* Sir *Iames Harrington*
Robert Wallop
John Phelps

Dead.

Mr. Ask
Dr. *Dorislaus* } Counsel

* *James Challenor*
* *Thomas Challoner*

Officers Fled

Edw. Dendy Serjeant at Law

Andrew Broughton
Clerk of the pretended High Court of Justice

The KINGS suppoied Executioner.

William Hewlet Tryed and Condemned, but his Execution respited

---

Dead in the Tower since their attainder

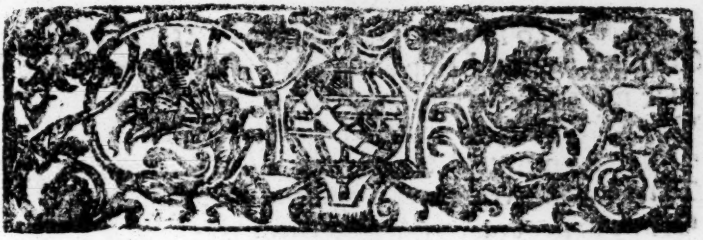
* *Simon Meyne*
* *Vincent Potter*

Pardoned
* *Francis Lassels*
* *John Hutchinson.*
* Colonell *Ingolsby*

AN

The
Grenville
Library

William Arch-B: of Canterbury
Prymat of all England, etc.



The right Reverend

William Laud, *Arch-Biſhop* OF CANTERBURY.

By the zealotry and fury of the Reformiſts, is warned to his Grave

By an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons (an unuſual & illegall way) He is beheaded at Tower-hill, Jan. *the* 10. 1644.

THe ſtrongeſt and firmeſt Reſolutions, that fixed ſober men can make, compared with the bare opinion of a preciſe *Non-Conformiſt* in Religion is but like a ſhaken reed: ſo unmoveable are they from any thing their fancy hath once ſuggeſted to be divine direction. This was moſt apparent in their violent perſecution of Epiſcopacy, which their Heads and Chiefs gave out to be Antichriſtian, and conſequently to be endeavored to be wholly extirpated as Enemies to the people of God. Upon this Edge the Phanatick Vulgar was ſet againſt the moſt ſacred Function and Hierarchy.

The Chief of whom this Right Reverend and moſt Chriſtian Prelate being at the clamorous inſtance of the rude multitude, crying out, *No Biſhops, no Biſhops*; by a Vote of the Lords and Commons, with 11 others of his Order, committed firſt to the *Black Rod*, then to the *Tower*; endured a very tedious Impriſonment: the Crime in general objected to them was their Proteſtation entered in the Houſe of Lords that nothing done there, during their excluſion ſhould be valid. Afterward the ſpleen of the Reformiſts, ſingled out the *Arch-Biſhop* to be a Sacrifice to their *Diana* of Presbytery then riſing and getting root in *England*. His particular charge, which he defended moſt learnedly and gallantly at the Barre of the Houſe of Lords conſiſted meerly of the eye-ſores ſtrict profeſſion of that party. They may be ſummed up in theſe Heads.

1. For placing of Images in churches, and particularly his own Chappell at *Lambeth*.

2 For glazing of Church-windows with Painted Imagery.

3 For erecting of Crucifixed Altars, and railing them in.

4 For bowing at the Name of Jeſus.

5. For turning out and ſilencing godly Reformed Miniſters, and putting others (*ſcandalous*) in their room.

For preferring men Popiſhly affected to Biſhopricks and attendance upon the King and the Royall Family.

6. For holding correſpondence with the *Popes* Nuntio and Ieſuites, and procuring the ſaid Nuntio leave to reſide here.

7 For promoting of Arminianiſme and preferring *Arminians*.

8. For diſowning and diſcountenancing the Reformed Churches abroad.

9 For endeavouring a Reconciliation betwixt the Churches of *England* and *Rome*.

10 For doing ill Offices between the King and his people, and for his endeavouring to ſubvert Parliaments the Laws and Liberties of *England*.

All

All that concerned the Ceremonies of Religion he justified by the *English* Canons the reſt he plainly refuted but ſuch was the malice of his Enemies, that they were reſolved to have his life which they compaſſed; his Sentence being that he ſhould be hanged, drawn and quatered: the Lord Mayor difficultly obtaining that he ſhould have the honor to be beheaded. He dyed cheerfully, with a colour as red in his cheeks as at any time in his life, making it moſt evident, that he was a moſt firm Proteſtant, of which Religion he lived and dyed a main Pillar.

His SPEECH *at his death was as followeth.*

The

The Speech or Sermon of the moſt Reverend Father in God, *William* Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Immediately before his Execution on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, *January*, 10. 1644.

Upon Heb. 12. 1 2.

Let us run with patience that race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus the Author and finiſher of our faith who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſſe, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the Right Hand of the Throne of God.

Good People!

YOu'l pardon my old Memory, and upon ſo ſad occaſions as *I* am come to this place to make uſe of my papers, I dare not truſt my ſelf otherwiſe.

Good People!

'Tis a very uncomfortable time to preach in, and yet I ſhall begin with a Text of Scripture, in the twelfth of the *Hebrews*.

Let us run with patience that race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus the Author and finiſher of our faith, who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſſe, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the Right hand of the Throne of God.

* *An. Æt.* 72. I Have been long in my race, * and how I have looked unto Jesus the Authour and finisher of my faith, is best known to him. I am now come to the end of my Race, and here I find the Crosse a death of shame, but the shame must be despised, or there is no coming to the Right hand of God: Jesus despised the shame for me, and God forbid but I should despise the shame for him. I am going apace, as you see towards the Red-Sea, and my feet are upon the very brinks of it; an argument, I hope, that God is bringing me to the land of *Promise*; for that was the way by which of old he led his people: But before they came to the Sea, he instituted a *Passeover* for them; a *Lamb* it was, but it was to be eaten with very sowre *Herbs*, as in the twelfth of *Exodus*.

I shall obey, and labour to digest the sowre *Herbs* as well as the Lamb, and I shall remember that it is the Lords Passeover; I shall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the hands that gathered them, but look up only to him who instituted the one, and governeth the other: For men can have no more power over me, then that which is given them from above; I am not in love with this passage through the *Red Sea*; for I have the weaknesse and infirmity of flesh and blood in me, and I have prayed as my Saviour taught me and exampled me *ut transfiret calix iste*,

That this cup of red-Wine might passe away from me; but since it is not that my will may; his will done: and I most willingly drink of this cup as deep as he pleases, and enter into this Sea, and passe through it, in the way that he will be pleased to lead me.

And yet (*Good People*) it would be remembred, That when the Servants of God, old *Israel*, were in this boisterous Sea, and *Aaron* with them, the Egyptians which persecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into that Sea, were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit of them; I know my God whom I serve, is as able to deliver me from this Sea of blood, as he

he was to deliver the three children from the furnace, as *Dan.* 3.

And I most humbly thank my Saviour for it, my Resolution is now, as theirs was then; their Resolution was, They would not worship the Image the KING had set up: but shall I the Imaginations which the PEOPLE are setting up: nor will I forsake the Temple, and the truth of GOD, to follow the Bleating of *Jeroboams* Calves in *Dan* and in *Bethel*.

And I pray God blesse all this People, and open their eyes, that they may see the right way, for if it fall out that the blind lead the blind, doubtlesse they will both, into the ditch: For my self I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most grievous sinner many wayes, by thought, word and deed, and therefore I cannot doubt but that GOD hath mercy in store for me a poor penitent as well as for other sinners. I have upon this sad occasion, ransack'd every corner of my heart, and yet I thank God, I have not found any of my sins that are there, any sins now deserving death by any known Law of this kingdom; and yet thereby I charge nothing upon my Judges (I humbly beseech you I may rightly be understood, I charge nothing in the least degree upon my Judges) for they are to proceed by proof, by valuable Witnesses, and in that way I or any Innocent in the world may justly be condemned; And I thank God though the weight of the Sentence lie very heavy upon me, yet I am as quiet within, as (I thank Christ for it) I ever was in my self; and though I am not the first Archbishop, but the first man that ever dyed by an Ordinance of Parliament, yet some of my Predecessors have gone this way, though not by this means: for * *Elfegus* was hurried away and lost his head by the *Danes*. And * *Simm Sudbury* in the fury of *Wat Tyler* and his fellows: And long before these Saint *John Baptist* had his head danced off by a lewd Woman, and Saint *Cyprian* Archbishop of *Carthage*, submitted his head to a persecuting sword.

* *Hollinsh.* 170. *K. Egelred. April* 19. 1112

* *Baker* 150. *K. Richard the* 2d. *Ann.* 1384.

ſword. *Many* Examples great and good, for they teach me patience, and I hope my cauſe in Heaven will look of another dye then the colour that is put upon it here upon Earth; and ſome comfort it is to me, not onely that I go the way of theſe great men in their ſeveral Generations, but alſo that my charge (if I may not be partiall) looks ſomewhat like that againſt Saint *Paul* in the 25. of the *Acts*, for he was accuſed for the Law and the Temple, that is the Law and Religion; and like that of Saint *Stephen* in the Sixth of the *Acts*, for breaking the Ordinances that *Moſes* gave us, which Ordinances were Law and Religion; but youl ſay, do I then compare my ſelf with the intergity of Saint *Paul* and Saint *Stephen*? No, God forbid, far be it from me; I only raiſe a comfort to my ſelfe, that the great Saints and ſervants of God were thus laid up in their ſeverall times; and it is very memorable that Saint *Paul*, who was one of them, and a great one, that helped on the accuſation againſt Saint *Stephen*, fell afterwards into the ſelfe-ſame accuſation himſelf, yet both of them great Saints and Servants of God. I but perhaps a great clamour there is that I would have brought in Popery, I ſhall anſwer that more fully by and by; in the mean time, you know what the *Phariſees* ſaid againſt Chriſt himſelf, in the Eleventh of John, *If we let him alone all men will beleve him*, Et venient Romani, *and the Romans will come and take away both our place and Nation.* Here was a cauſleſſe cry againſt Chriſt, that *Romans* would come; and ſee how juſt the judgement of God was, they crucified Chriſt for fear leſt the *Romans* ſhould come; his death was that that brought in the Romans upon them; God puniſhing them with that which they moſt feared; And I pray God this clamour of *venient Romani*, (of which I have given to my knowledge no juſt cauſe) help not to bring him; for the Pope never had ſuch an harveſt in *England* ſince the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and diviſions that are among us; in the mean time, By *honour and diſho-*

nour,

nour, by good report and evill report, as a deceiver and yet true, am I passing out of this World. Some particulars also I think not amiss to speak of.

First, This I shall be bold to speak of the King, our Gracious Soveraign; he hath been much traduced by some for labouring to bring in Poperie; but upon my Conscience (of which I am now going to give God a present account) I know him to be as free from this charge I think as any man living, and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant according to the Religion by Law established, as any man in this Kingdom, and that he will venture his life freely for it; and I think I do or should know both his affection to Religion, and his grounds upon which that affection is built, as fully as any man in *England*.

The second particular is concerning this great and populous City, which God bless: Here hath been of late a fashion taken up to gather hands, and then go to the Honourable and great Court of the Kingdome, the Parliament, and clamour for Justice, as if that great and wise Court (before whom the causes come, which are unknown to the many) could not, or would not do Justice, but at their call and appointment; away which may endanger many an innocent man, and pluck up innocent blood upon their own heads, and perhaps upon this City also, which God forbid: and this hath been lately practised against my selfe: God forgive the setters of this, with all my heart: I beg it; but many well meaning people are caught by it: In Saint *Stephens* case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the people against him; *Acts* 6. and *Herod* went just the self same way for when he had killed Saint *James*, he would not venture upon Saint *Peter* too, till he saw how the people took it, and were pleased with it, in the Twelfth of the *Acts*. But take heed of having your hands full of blood, in the first of *Isaiah*: for there is a time best known to himself, when God among other sins makes inquisition for blood: and when in-

inquiſition is on foot, the Pſalmiſts tells us, *Pſ ame 9.* that God remembers; that is not all, *That God remembers and forgets not* (ſaith the Prophet) *the complaint of the poor*; and he tells you what poor they are, in the 9. verſe, the poor whoſe blood is ſhed by ſuch kind of means: Take heed of this; *It is a fearfull thing* (at any time) *to fall into the hands of the living God*, in the 12. of the Hebrews: But it is fearfull indeed, and then eſpecially when he is making his inquiſition for blood; and therefore, with my Prayers to avert the Propheſie from the City, let me deſire that this City would remember the Propheſie that is expreſſed, *Ieremiah* 29. 15.

The third particular is this poor Church of *England*, that hath flouriſhed and been a Shelter to other neighbouring Churches, when ſtorms have driven upon them; but alas, now it is in a ſtorm it ſelf, and God knows whether or how it ſhall get out: and which is worſe then a ſtorm from without, it is become like an Oak cleft to ſhivers with Wedges made out of it's own body, and that in every cleft Prophaneneſſe and irreligion is creeping in apace: while as * *Proſper* ſaith, men that introduce prophaneneſſe are cloaked with a name of imaginary Religion: For we have in a manner almoſt loſt the ſubſtance, and dwell much, nay too much a great deal in opinion; and that Church which all the Jeſuites machinations in theſe parts of Chriſtendome could not ruine, is now fallen into a great deal of danger by her own.

* *Lib. 2. de Vit. contemp. cap. 2.*

The laſt particular (for I am not willing to be tedious, I ſhall haſten to go out of this miſerable world) is my ſelf, and I beſeech you, as many as be here preſent within hearing, obſerve me; I was born and baptized in the boſome of the Church of *England*, as it ſtands yet eſtabliſhed by Law; in that profeſſion I have ever ſince lived, and in that profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion here eſtabliſhed I come now to dye; this is no time to diſſemble with God, leaſt of all in matter of Religion, and therefore I deſire it may be remembred,

bred, I have always lived in the Protestant Religion established in *England*, and in that I come now to dye: What clamours and slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the externall service of God, according to the Doctrine and discipline of this Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt: Now at last I am accused of high Treason in Parliament, a crime which my soul ever abhorred: This Treason was charged upon me to consist of two parts, An endeavour to subvert the Law of the Realm, and a like endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion established by those Laws. Besides my answers which I gave to the several Charges, I protested my innocency in both Houses; it was said that prisoners protestations at the Bar must be taken *de ipso*; I can bring no witness of my heart, and the intentions thereof, therefore must I come to my protestation, not at the Bar, but to my protestation at this hour and instant of my death, in which (as I said before) I hope all men will be such charitable Christians as not to think I would die and dissemble my Religion, I do therefore here with that caution that I delivered before, without all prejudice in the world to my Judges, that are to proceed *secundum allegata & probata*, and so to be understood, I dye in the presence of the Almighty God and all his holy and blessed Angels, and I take it now on my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion of the Laws of the Realm, nor ever any change of the Protestant Religion into Popish Superstition; and I desire you all to remember this Protest of mine, for my innocency in these and from all manner of Treasons whatsoever.

I have been accused likewise as an enemy to Parliaments, no, God forbid, I understood them, and the benefits that come by them, a great deal too well to be so, but I indeed dislike some misgovernments (as I conceived) of some few did one or two Parlaments: and I did conceive humbly that I might have reason for it, for *corruptio optimi est pessima*; There is no corruption in the World so bad as that which is of the best thing in it self, for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it

is

is corrupted; and this being the higheſt and greateſt Court, over which no other can have Jurisdiction in the Kingdome, if by any way a miſ-government (which God forbid) ſhould fall upon it, the Subjects of this Kingdome are left without all manner of Remedy, and therefore God preſerve them and bleſſe them, and direct them, that there may be no miſ-conceit, much leſſe miſ-government amongſt them. I will not inlarge my ſelf any further; I have done, I forgive all the World, all and every of thoſe bitter enemies, or others whoſoever they have been, which have any ways perſecuted me in this kind, and I humbly deſire to be forgiven firſt of God, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or no, if he do but conceive that I have; Lord, do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveneſſe of him, and ſo I heartily deſire you to join with me in prayer.

Here followeth the *Biſhop of Canterburies* Firſt Prayer on the Scaffold.

The

The Bishop of *Canterburies* first Prayer on the Scaffold.

O *Eternal God, and merciful* Father, *look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulnesse of all thy mercies look upon me, but not till thou hast nailed my sins to the Cross of Christ: look upon me, but not till thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ, not till I have hid my self in the wounds of Christ, that so the punishment that is due to my sins, may pass away and go over me; and since thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost I humbly beseech thee give me now in this great instance full of patience, proportionable comfort, a heart ready to dye for thine honour, the Kings happinesse, &*

Churches

Churches preſervation; and my zeal to theſe (far from arrogancy be it ſpoken) is all the ſin, (humane frailty excepted, and all incidents thereunto) which is yet known of me in this particular of Treaſon; but otherwiſe my ſins are many and great; Lord pardon them all, and thoſe eſpecially whatſoever they be which have drawn down this preſent Judgement upon me, and when thou haſt given me ſtrength to bear it, then do with me as ſeemeth beſt in thy own eyes; and carry me through death, that I may look upon it in what viſage ſoever it ſhall appear to me, and that there may be a ſtop of this iſſue of blood in this more then miſerable Kingdome. I ſhall deſire that I may pray for the People too, as well as for my ſelf O Lord, I beſeech thee, give grace of Repentance to all people that have a thirſt for blood; but if they will not repent, then ſcatter their devices ſo, and ſuch as are or ſhall be contrary to the glory of thy great Name, the truth and ſincerity of Religion, the eſtabliſhment of the King and his

Posterity after him in their just Rights and Priviledges, the honour and conservation of Parliaments in their ancient and just power, the preservation of this poor Church in her truth, peace and patrimony. and the settlement of this distracted and distressed people under their antient Laws and in their native Liberties, and when thou hast done all this in meer mercy for them, O Lord fill their hearts with thankefulnesse, and with religious dutifull obedience to thee and thy Commandements all their days. So Amen Lord Jesus: and I beseech thee receive my soul to mercy. Our Father which art in Heaven, Hollowed be thy Name. Thy Kindome come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our dayly bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from all evill. Amen,

When

WHen he had finiſhed his Prayer, he gave his Paper to Doctor *Iern*, ſaying, Doctor, I give you this, that you may ſhew it to your Fellow Chaplains, that they may ſee how I am gone out of the World, and Gods bleſſing and his mercy be upon them.

Then turning to *Maſter Hind*, he ſaid, Friend, I beſeech you hear me, I cannot ſay I have ſpoken every word as it in my paper, but I have gone very near it, to help my memory as well as I could: but I beſeech you let me have no wrong done me.

Hind. Sir, you ſhall not If I do any wrong let it fall on my own head. I pray God have mercy on your ſoul.

Cant. I thank you, I did not ſpeak with any jealouſie as if you would do ſo, but I ſpake it onely as a poor man, going out of the World, it is not poſſible for me to keep to the words in my paper, and a phraſe may do mee wrong.

I did thiuk here would have been an empty Scaffold, that I might have had room to dye: I beſeech you let me have an end of this miſery, for I have endured it long.

When room was made, he ſpake thus: I will pull off my Doublet, and Gods will be done, I am willing to go out of the world, none can be more willing to ſend me out, then I am willing to be gone.

Sir *John Clothworthy*, What ſpeciall Text of Scripture now is comfortable to a man in his departure:

Cant. *Cupio diſſolvi & eſſe cum Chriſto.*

Sir *John Clothworthy*. That is a good deſire, but there muſt be a foundation for that deſire as aſſurance.

Cant. No man can expreſſe it, it is to be found within:

Sir *John Clothworthy*. It is founded upon a word though and that word would be known.

Cant. The word is the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, and him alone.

Then turning to the Executioner he gave him mony saying. Here honeſt friend, God forgive thee, and do thy Office upon me in mercy.

The Executioner deſired him to give him a ſign when he ſhould ſtrike, he anſvvered, Yes, I vvill, but let me fit my ſelf firſt.

Then kneeling dovvn on his knees he prayed thus

The Arch-*Biſhop of Canterburies* Laſt Prayer on the SCAFFOLD.

LOrd, I àm comming as faſt as I can, I know I muſt paſs paſſe through the ſhadow of death, before I can come to ſee thee, but it is but umbra mortis, *a meer ſhadow of death, a little darkneſſe upon nature: but thou by thy merits and paſſion haſt broke through the jaws of death: ſo Lord receive my ſoul, and have mercy upon me, and bleſſe this Kingdome with peace and with plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effuſion of Chriſtian blood amongſt them, for Jeſus Chriſts ſake if it be his will.*

And when he ſaid *Lord receive my ſoul,* (which was his ſign) the Executioner did his Office.

The

THe Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, is maligned by a party in Parliament. A Charge is exhibited against him by the *House* of Commons: he is eagerly prosecuted by *Pym* and *Oliver St. Johns*, the multitudes by their Artifices is incensed against him, by whose clamors the House of Lords are forced to assent to his death though no Law or Precedent for it. He is beheaded on Tower-hill, *London*, May 12. 1641.

Greatnesse is that mark at which the arrows of envy and malice are perpetually levelled, nor can the uprightnesse, sincerity or vertue of any man, elevated above the pitch of others, secure him either from the open or close assaults of enemies. Men consider not what good great men do in such eximous places but what harm they may do by the power and authority their grandeur hath vested them with; such suspition especially of persons of known abilities, and who by their preferment may be thought byassed from their former integrity, soon corrupts into ill will and rancour, and that is usually terminated in the destruction of great Ones, as will appear in this ensuing History.

The Earl of *Strafford* was a Gentleman descended of a Right Noble Family in York-shire, which his personal vertues had very much illustrated, which brought him forth into the eyes and affections of his Country, neither were his intellectuall abilities any way inferiour to his other eminent qualities, so that in all choices of Parliament men he was one of the chief for the afore said County. In Parliament he was soon taken notice of for his prudence and excellency of learning, which being directed solely to the service of his Country deservedly purchased him the honourable Name of a Patriot.

This Character of him brought him soon to the Kings observation and favour, who well liking and judging his abilities and sufficiences, fitter for a Minister of State then a private Gentleman, advanced him from the degree of Knight-hood (the honour of his Ancestors) to a Barony

Barony and Earldome, and ſoon after imployed him as Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

Here he performed that great truſt with very great ſatisfaction to the King and honour to himſelf: having augmented and eſtabliſhed the Kings Revenue as well as his authority, though in this his meritorious ſervice to the Crown the project of his ruine was firſt laid.

For a Parliament being called in *England*, in 1640. this noble Earl was Articled againſt by the Houſe of Commons for ſeverall miſdemeanours in his Goverment in *Ireland*, and for endeavouring the ſubverſion of the laws of that Kingdome, by ſeveral arbitrary, illegall impoſitions and proceedings: that he had alſo endeavoured the like in the Kingdome of *England*, that he was an Enemy to and had been an ill inſtrument betwixt the King and his People: that he had given the King counſell to diſſolve the laſt Parliament, and to levy mony upon the ſubject by his Prerogative, that he had deſigned to bring up the Army then in the North to awe the Parliament, and that he had an Army on foot in *Ireland* to that purpoſe, that his deſign was to enſlave the free people of *England*, and to introduce Popery, *cum multis aliis*, which being ſingularly and particularly charged againſt him as Treaſon, could not with all the aggravation and in the letter of the Law, though every punctilio was inſiſted on be made appear ſuch: ſo the ſubtle malice of his adverſaries, after he had made a moſt learned & juſt defence to every thing charged againſt him (even by the confeſſion of ſome of his implacable enemies) found out a new expedient to take away his life, by a device, called accumulative Treaſon, thoſe particular offences in which they judged him culpable being not Treaſon in themſelvs, were made to be ſo and amount to ſo much in the Groſſe, in the whole taken together.

Never

Nevertheleſſe many of both Houſes, were not ſatiſfied upon this ground to proceed againſt his life, but the importunity of the rabble (brought down by their party in the Houſe of Commons) threatning and poſting up the *Straffordians*, and demanding Juſtice, Iuſtice, prevailed in the concluſion againſt this right worthy and Honorable Earl; the King at laſt being being forced to ſign the Bill for his Execution in which the poor Earl himſelf himſelf became a Soliciter to his Majeſty though the King bore regret of that action with him to his grave having left this Honorable monument of him in his *Eikon Baſilike* looked upon my Lord of Strafford as a Gentleman; I whoſe abilities might rather make a Prince afraid, then aſhamed, &c.

After the aforeſaid Bill was aſſigned, the Parliament deferred not the Execution for five dayes after he was brought to *Tower-hill* and there beheaded.

Two of his Speechees, one the laſt at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the other the laſt of all at his death are as followeth.

The Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*'s two Speeches, the one at his Tryal in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the other on the Scaffold immediately before his Execution on *Tower-hill*, *May* 12. 1641.

MY Lords! There yet remains another Treaſon that I ſhould be guilty of; the endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of the Land: that they ſhould now be Treaſon together, that is not Treaſon in any one part of Treaſon accumulative, that ſo when all will not do, it is woven up with others, it ſhould ſeem very ſtrange.

Under favour my Lords, I do not conceive that there is either Statute Law or common Law, that doth declare the endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamentall Laws to be high Treaſon.

For neither Statute Law, nor Common Law written, that ever I could hear of, declareth it ſo.

And yet I have been diligent to enquire, (as I believe you think it doth concern me to do)

It is hard to be queſtioned for life and honour upon a Law that cannot be ſhewn.

There is a rule which I have learned from Sir *Edward Cook*, *De non apparentibus & non exiſtentibus eadem ratio*: (Jeſu) where hath this fire lain all this while, ſo many hundred

of

Thomas Earle of Strafford
L: Leutenant of Ireland, etc.
Sould by P: Stent

G G 34

of years, without any ſmoak to diſcover it, till it thus burſt out to conſume me and my children: extreme hard in my opinion, that puniſhment ſhould precede promulgation of law, puniſhment by a Law ſubſequent to the Acts done.

Take it into your conſiderations: for it is now better to be under no Law at all, but the will of men, then to conform our ſelves under the Protection of a law as we think and then be puniſhed for a crime that doth precede the Law: what man can be ſafe, if that be once admitted?

My Lords, it is hard in another reſpect, that there ſhould be no token ſet upon this offence, by which we ſhould know it, no admonition, by which we ſhould be aware of it.

If a man paſſe down the Thames in a Boat, and it be ſplit upon an Anchor: and no buoy be ſet as a token that there is an Anchour there, that party that owns the Anchour, by the Maritine laws ſhall give ſatisfaction for the damage done: but if it were marked out, I muſt come upon my own perill.

Now where is a mark upon this crime? Where is the token of this high treaſon?

If it be under water, and not above water, no humane providence can avail nor prevent my deſtruction.

Lay aſide all humane wiſdome, and let us reſt upon divine Revelation, if you willcondemn before you forewarn the danger.

Oh my Lords! may your Lordſhips be pleaſed to give that regard unto the Peerage of *England*, as never to ſuffer our ſelves to be put on theſe nice points upon ſuch contractive interpretations; and theſe are where Laws are not clear, or knovvn. If there muſtbe a tryall of vvits I do humbly beſeech you, the ſubjectand matter may be ſomevvhat elſe than the lives and honors of Peers

My Lords, we find that the primitive time, in the progression of the plain Doctrine of the Apostles, they brought the Books of curious Arts, and burned them, And so likewise, as I do conceive, it will be wisdome and providence in your Lordships, for your Posterity and the whole Kingdome, to cast from you into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of Constructive and Arbitrary Treason: and to break your selves to the plain Letters of the Law and Statute, that telleth us where the crime is, and by telling what is and what is not, shews us how to avoid it. And let us not be ambitious to be more wise and learned in the killing Arts, than our fore-fathers were.

It is now two hundred and forty yeare since any man was touched for this alledged crime (to this height) before my self; we have lived happily to our selves at home and we have lived gloriously to the world abroad.

Let us rest contented with that our Father left us, and not awaken those sleepy Lyons to our own destructions: by raking up a few musty Records that have lien so many Ages by the walls, quite forgotten and neglected.

May your Lordships be nobly pleased, to adde this to those other mis-fortunes befallen me for my sins, not for my Treasons, that a president should be derived from me as a disadvantage (as this will be in the consequent to the whole Kingdome) I beseech you seriously to consider it and let not my Particular Cause be looked upon as you do: though you wound me in my interest in the Common-Wealth, and therefore those Gentlemen say, that they speak for the Common-Wealth, yet in this particular I indeed speak for it, and the inconveniences and mischiefs that will heavily fall upon us: for as it is in the first of *Henry* the fourth, no man will after know what to do or what to say, for fear,

Do not put my Lords ſo great difficulties upon the Miniſters of State, that men of wiſdome, honour and vertue, may not with cheerfulneſſe and ſafety be imployed for the publick, if you weigh them and meaſure them by grains and ſcruples, the publick affairs of the Kingdome will be laid waſte, and no man will meddle with them that hath honours, iſſues, or any fortune to loſe.

My Lords, I have now troubled you longer than I ſhould have done, were it not for the intereſt of thoſe dear Pledges a Saint in Heaven left me: I ſhould be loth my Lords (there he ſtopped.)

VVhat I forfeit for my ſelf it is nothing, but that my indiſcretion ſhould forfeit for my child, it even woundeth me deep to my very ſoul.

You will pardon my infirmity, ſomething I ſhould have ſaid, but I am not able, (and ſighed) therefore let it paſſe.

And now my Lords, I have been by the Bleſſing of Almighty God, taught that the afflictions of this life preſent are not to be compared to the Eternal weights of that glory that ſhall be revealed to us hereafter.

And ſo my Lords, even ſo with tranquility of mind I do ſubmit my ſelf freely and clearly to your Lordſhips judgements, and whether that Righteous judgement ſhal be to life or death.

Te Deum laudamus, Te Dominum confitemur.

The Earl of Straffords *Speech on the Seaffold immediately before his Execution on* Tower-hill, May *the* 12. 1649.

My L. Primate of Ireland.

IT is my very great comfort that I have your Lordſhip by me this day, in regard I have been known to you theſe many years and I do thank God and your Lordſhip for it that you are here; I ſhould be very glad to obtain ſo much ſilence as to be heard a few words but I doubt I ſhall not, the noiſe is ſo great. My Lords; I am come hither by the good will and pleaſure of Almighty God, to pay that laſt debt I owe to ſin, which is death and by the bleſſing of that God, to riſe again through the merits of *Ieſus Chriſt* to righteouſneſſe and life eternall, *Here* he was a little interrupted.

My Lords, I am come hither to ſubmit to that Judgement hath paſſed againſt me, I do it with with a very quiet and contented mind, I thank God I do freely forgive all the world a forgiveneſſe that is not ſpoken from the teeth outwards but from the very heart, I ſpeak it in in preſence of Almighty God, before whom I ſtand, that there is not a diſpleaſing thought ariſing in me towards anyman living. I thank God I can ſay it, & truly too, my Conſcience bearing me witneſſe, that in all my imployment, ſince I had the honour to ſerve his Majeſty, I never had any thing in the purpoſe of my heart but what tended to the joint and individual proſperity of King and people: although it hath been my ill fortune to bee miſ-conſtrued.

I am not the firſt that hath ſuffered in this kind, it is the common portion of us all, while we are in this life to erre, righteous judgement we muſt waitfor in another place, for here we are very ſubject to be miſ-judged one of another: There is one thing that I deſire to free my ſelf of, and I am very confident (ſpeaking it now vvvvith

ſo much cheerfulneſſe that I ſhall obtain your Chriſtian charity in the beleefe of it. I was ſo far from being againſt Parliaments, that I did alway think the Parliaments of *England* were the moſt happy conſtitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the beſt means under God to make the King and people happy.

For my death I here acquit all the world and beſeech the God of heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the inventions and purpoſes of my heart I am not guilty of what I die for: And my Lord Primate, it is a great comfort for me that his Majeſty conceives me not meriting ſo ſevere and heavy a puniſhment as is at the utmoſt execution of this Sentence; I do infinitely rejoyce in this mercy o his and I beſeech God return it into his own bolome that he may find mercy when he ſtands moſt in need of it.

I wiſh this Kingdom all the proſperity and happineſſe in the world, I did it living and now dying it is my wiſh; I do moſt humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and deſire they would lay their hands upon their hearts and conſider ſeriouſly whether the beginning of the happineſſe and Reformation of a kingdome ſhould be written in *Letters* of bloud: conſider this when you are at your homes, and let me be never ſo unhappy, as that the laſt drop of my blood ſhould riſe up in judgment ſhould riſe up againſt any one of you, but I fear you are in wrong way.

My Lords, I have but one word more, and with that I ſhall end. I profeſſe that I dye a true and obedient Son to the Church of *England* wherein I was born and in which I was bred, peace and proſperity be ever to it.

It hath been objected (if it were an objection worth the anſwering) that I have been inclined to Popery, but I ſay truly from my heart, that from the time that I was one and twenty years of age to this preſent, going now upon forty nine I never had in my heart, to bow of this religion of the Church of England: Nor ever had any man the boldneſſe to ſuggeſt any ſuch thing to me, to the beſt of my remembrance: and

ſo

so being reconciled by the merits of *Jesus Christ* our Saviour, into whose bosome I hope I shall shortly be gathered to those Eternall happinesse, which shall never have end; I desire heartily the forgivenesse of every man for any rash or unadvised words, or any thing done amiss: and so my Lords and Gentlemen farewell: farewell all things of this world.

I desire that you would be silent, join with me in prayer, and I trust in God we shall all meet and live eternally in Heaven, there to receive the Accomplishment of all happinesse, where every tear shall be wiped away from our eyes, and every sad thought from our hearts: and so God bless this Kingdome, and Jesus have mercy on my soul.

Then turning himself about he saluted all the Noble men; and took a solemn leave of all considerable persons upon the Scaffold, giving them his hand.

After that he said, Gentlemen, I would say my prayers, and intreat you all to pray with me and for me, then his Chaplain laid the book of Common-prayer upon the Chair before him, as he kneeled down, on which he prayed almost a quarter of an hour, then as long or longer without the Book, and concluded with the Lords prayer.

Standing up he espies his Brother, Sir George *Wentworth*, and calls him to him saying, Brother, we must part, remember me to my Sister, and to my Wife; and carry my blessing to my Son, and charge him that he fear God, and continue an obedient Son to the Church of England, & warn him that he bear no private grudge or revenge toward any man concerning me: and bid him beware that he meddle not with Church livings, for that will prove a moth and canker to him in his Estate, and wish him to content himself to be a Servant to his Country; not aming at higher preferments,

Aliter.) To his Son *Mr. Wentworth* he commends himself, and gives him charge to serve his God, to submit to his King with all faith and allegiance in things temporall, to the Church in things Spirituall, chargeth him again and again, as he will answer it to him in heaven never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church for if he did, it would be a canker to eat up the rest of his E-

Carry my blessing also to my daughter *Ann* and *Arabella*, charge them to serve and fear God and he wil blesse them: not forgetting my little infant, who yet knows neither good or evill, and cannot speak for it self, God speak or it, and bless it; now said he I have nigh done, one stroak will make my wife husbandless, my dear children fatherless, and my poor servants masterless, and will separate me from my dear Brother, and all my friends. But let God be to you and them all in all.

After this, going to take off his doublet and to make himself unready, he said *I* thank my God I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any discouragement rising from any fears, but do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to bed; then he put off his doublet, wound up his hair, with his hands, and put on a white cap.

Then he called, where is the man that is to do this last office? (meaning the executioner) call him to me, when he came, and asked him forgiveness, he told him he forgave him and all the world; then kneeling down by the block, he went to prayer again himself, the Primate of *Ireland* kneeling on the one side and the Minister on the other: To the which Minister, after prayer, he turned himself, having done prayer, & spoke few words softly, having his hands lifted up & closed with the Ministers hands

Then bowing himself to lay his head upon the block, he told the Executioner, that he would first lay down his head to try the fitnesse of the block, and take it up again before he would lay it down for good and all: and so hee did, and before he layed it down again, tould the Executioner that he would give him warning when to strike by stretching forth his hands; And presently laying down his neck upon the block, and stretching forth his hands the Executioner struck of his head at one blow, and taking it up in his hand shewed it to all the people, and said, *God save the King.*

His body was afterwards embalmed and appointed to be carried into Yorkshire, there to be buried amongst his Ancestors.

He left these 3 instructions for his son in writing.

First, That he should continue still to be brought up under those Governours to whom he had committed

him

him; As being the beſt he could pick out of all thoſe within his knowledge; and that he ſhould not change them, unleſſe they were weary of him; that he ſhould rather want himſelf, then they ſhould want any thing they could deſire,

Secondly, He chargeth him as he would anſwer it at the laſt day, not to put himſelf upon any publick employments till he was thirty years of age at leaſt: And then if his Prince ſhonid call him to Publick ſervice he ſhould carefully undertake it, to teſtifie his obedience, and withall to be faithful and ſincere to his Maſter, though he ſhould come to the ſame end himſelf did.

Thirdly, that he ſhould never lay any hand upon any thing that belonged to the Church; He foreſaw that ruine was like to come upon the Revenues of the Church, and that perhaps they might be ſhared amongſt the Nobility and Gentry: But if his Son medled with any of it, he wiſhed the curſe of God might follow him and all them, to the deſtruction *of the moſt Apoſtolicall Church upon Earth.*

Mr. Yeomans *and Mr.* Bourchier *Executed at* Briſtoll, May 30. 1643.

THeſe Gentlemen were two of the primeſt Citizens of that place, Mr. *Yeomans* having undergone the Office of Sheriff therein, and ſo no doubt better inſtructed in the Laws, which require our Allegiance to the King, then moſt men in thoſe dangerous times, when that principle began to be obliterated, and falſe gloſſes put thereon, to the deluding of almoſt half the Kingdom. They were alwayes reputed very ſober and conſcientious perſons, having longingly expected the calling of that long Parliament (in hope of redreſſing the grievances of the Kingdom) which ſo Tyrannically bereaved them ſoon after of both their lives: The occaſion of which cruell procedure we will next relate.

When theſe Gentlemen, who looked for Grapes, not for Thiſtles, from a Vine which the indulgent favours of the King had planted and cheriſhed beyond all the tenderneſſe of any of his Royal Progenitors, perceived how indignly and unworthily they at *Weſtminſter* uſed their Soveraign, tumulting him from his Palace at *White-hall*, by the mad Rabble which they had inſtigated thereto by the pretences of Religion and Liberty, which the wiſer ſort of men were themſelves found to be in moſt eminent danger, by ſo mad a Reformation as the beginning thereof declared. I ſay when they perceived the implacable malice of ſome of the Members of that Parliament, againſt the King and his Government, which they had too plainly evidenced in the matter of the Earl of *Strafford*, and that unparallel'd Remonſtrance, which ript up all the factures, and more then all, of his Majeſties Miniſters of State; and then ſee them arming themſelves, to maintain and defend thoſe outrages, and picking a Quarrell with the King, as if he intended to levy a War againſt them, when he had expreſly and clearly ſatisfied them otherwiſe; yet notwithſtanding they proceeded to

ſeize his Cities, Forts, Ships, and Magazines, keeping him out thence particularly at *Hull*, where they wounded many of his Followers, and for the ſafety of his Perſon forced him back again to his Loyal City of *York*: Theſe conſiderations ſet on the more powerfully by their ſeizing the Militia out of the hands of his Majeſties Lieutenants, and exerciſing it in the ſeverall Counties, particularly their Garriſoning this very City of *Briſtoll*, and that Neighbour City of *Glouceſter*, giving Battel to the King, to the utmoſt hazzard of his Perſon, at *Edge-hill*, did ſo far prevail with them, as to make them prefer their duty before their own ſafety or Eſtates, and in order thereunto put that City into the hands of the King, as a ſervice no leſſe due then advantagious to his Majeſties Affairs.

This counſell they communicated by Letters to the King at *Oxford*, and from thence received encouragement and a Commiſſion to proceed, the main of the Enterprize being committed to them two, who engaged other their Confederates in the ſame deſign, having liſted a competent number of men for the Service, to be ready at the ſignal time, which was at the Ring of St. *Peters* Bell, to riſe and take Armes, and ſeize the Gates and Ports, and let in Prince *Rupert*, who was ordered to attend the effect of it.

But this Plot came unhappily to be diſcovered to Col. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, Governour there for the Parliament, ſo that juſt before its putting in Execution (Prince *Rupert* attending at the appointed time and place) theſe perſons with ſome others (a generall ſearch being made throughout the Town for Armes, and other the Complices in this buſineſſe) were ſeized and committed to Priſon, and there examined, by which and other Evidence (as their Loyalty in this matter was eaſily to be proved) at their Tryal before a Court Martiall, they were caſt and condemned, and remanded back to Priſon to expect the day of their Loyal Martyrdom, in which time their Enemies did moſt barbarouſly inſult over their condition, affording them no reſt or quiet, ſo that griefe had almoſt prevented their Enemies malice, but

that

that they were resolved to bear up and justifie their cause with their warm blood.

Upon news of this Condemnation at *Oxford*, the Earl of *Forth*, then Generall for the King, sent a Trumpet with a Letter to *Fiennes*, threatning him if he proceeded to Execution against those two faithfull Subjects of his Majesty, who had acted nothing but by his Commission, impowering them to raise a Regiment for his Service; that he would proceed in like manner against the Prisoners in his hands; commanding them further in his Majesties Name, to desist from any further intended evil against them. This was answered with a daring Letter, and the Execution immediately hastened.

The King therefore sadly compassionating them, and fore-seeing the cruelty of their Enemies seconded that Letter with another to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of that City, wherein taking notice of the said unjust sentence, He commanded them upon their Allegiance, and as a most acceptable service to him, to rise in defence of his aforesaid two Subjects, and to wound, kill, and slay all such as should go about to offer any violence to their life or limbs, with such pressing feeling language, as if his own sacred Person had been it self immediately concerned: But *Fiennes* knowing of the coming of this Letter, resolved to frustrate and anticipate it, by Executing those two Loyal Martyrs just upon its arrivall.

For one the 30. of *May*, having drawn the Garrison to Armes, and shut up all the Ports, commanding the Officers to admit no persons upon what pretence soever, he of a sudden brought forth those two Prisoners to the place of their Martyrdom, the Inhabitants weeping and mourning at their Tragedy, but no wayes able to relieve them, to the enraging of their blood-thirsty Enemies, who would have all to be as sanguinous and impious as themselves.

Mr. *Yeomans* first ascended the Ladder, thence to reach the fruit of Eternal life, where his inhumane Tormentors ceased not to upbraid him with his condition, and to object to him their supposed criminations of his

own bloody intents, in massacring their party: if his design had succeeded: Which he took the pains to refute, telling them, *He meant not one man any more personall harm then he did himself, but that his design was laid for the publique Peace, and his Majesties Service, according to his Allegiance, for which he was so little ashamed to dye, that if he had a hundred lives more he would spend them all in the prosecution of the same, desiring his Neighbours not to be scandalized at his Crosse, for he died for a Glorious Cause, which if they persisted in, he would warrant the event would crown their perseverance.*

These words spoke so resolutely, though in much weaknesse of body, for he fainted that morning in his Wifes Armes, were not endurable by the guilty Consciences of those Murderers: whereupon one *Hercules Langrish*, a Major of Horse to *Viennes* his Regiment (who was so preferred for betraying the Kings coming to demand the Five Members at the House of Commons having understood it by his Wife a *French* woman servant to the Queen, and posted with the news of it to them) and one *Clifton* another Officer commanded him to cease, and the Executioner to do his Office, which he not doing they fell a punching and pushing him with their Javelings, wounding him in the thighes; which he no wayes regardfull of, but intent in his private Devotions, and his last Ejaculations to Heaven patiently suffered, together with the consummation of his Martyrdom, being thrown off the Ladder by the Executioner, as an innocent Sacrifice to the *Moloch* of the Cause, disguized from Rebellion by the vizor of Religion.

Room being made for the ascension of Mr. *Bourchier*, they proceeded in the like nature against him upbraiding Him with his former morality, vertue and piety, and what a shame it was that he should at length apostatize from them in this his like defection from Religion and the Cause of God, thinking by their bold and confident assertion thereof, to have dismayed this Courageous Souldier and Defender of his most Orthodox Protestant belief in this terrible agony of death: so much the more troublesom, by how much the lesse the Causes thereof were discoverable

discoverable to him from the ballance of the Sanctuary.

But they soon found themselves deceived, he retorted these their audacious and impudent glosses on Religion upon themselves, and to manifest the same the plainer to them rehearsed the Epistle of *Jude* to these Pharasaical Boasters of themselves, charactring their Cause from that Apostles description of them under the Qualifications therein mentioned, such as speak evil of Dignities, high minded, and the rest of those indigitations of Rebellion: which so moved their gall and impatience, that outragiously they called upon the Executioner to perform his Office, which after some short divine breathings of appeal and rendition of himself and his Cause to the judgement and mercy of God, Mr. *Bourchier* willingly suffered, having first sung the 16. Psalm, to accompany his dear friend to the Throne of Grace, leaving their Bodies under the Altar erected to the memory of those infamous Butcheries, and winging their Souls to the Altar of Heavens Compassion, where they cease not to cry, *How long Lord holy and true, wilt thou be avenged, &c.* which in part we have seen by the divine justice even to this world, and in some measure accomplished.

Both their Bodies were carried with a tyde of Teares running down from the spectators eyes to Mr. *Yeomans* his House, Father-in-Law to the Martyr: but in the evening Mr. *Bourchiers* body was conveyed to his own house, a sad spectacle to his poor widdow and 7. Orphans, and both at night were interred, Mr. *Yeomans* at *Christchurch*, and Mr. *Bourchier* at St. *Warburghs*, their Funerals being attended by those orthodox Ministers the Persecution had spared, and by the generality of the well affected citizens, though in hazard of suffering the unmercifull cruelties of Plunder and Sequestration.

This Murder was most passionately regretted throughout the Kingdom, where any sense of Law, Allegiance, and the Subjects Liberty was left, when to put them out of their dumps, the people at *Westminster* proceeded to the parallel of this insolent villany in the ensuing barbarous act upon 2. Gentlemen in *London* on the like occasion.

Mr. Thomkins *and Mr.* Challoner *Executed at* London *by a Sentence of a Court Martiall*, July 5. 1643.

THe ſame Cannibals, who by their Order and Command had perpetrated this wickedneſſe againſt the lives of their fellow Subjects, in contumely and reproach of the Laws, and in affront to their Soveraign, the main thing indeed intended, thereby to undervalue his Authority among his people, as if he were no way to be concerned and intereſted in their Protection, but that the two Houſes were all in all, not to be contradicted or queſtioned for any thing they did: The ſame perſons I ſay proſecuted the ſame Revenges (not becauſe they ſaw it pleaſed the people, for there they were miſtaken) againſt two other eminent Gentlemen of the City of *London*, Mr. *Tomkins* Clerk of the Queens Council, and Mr. *Challoner* a Linnen Draper in *Cornhill*.

Their pretended crime was their Loyal Confederacy, with ſome other Citizens, as Mr. *Blinckhorn*, Mr. *White*, *&c.* and Mr. *Edmund Waller*, a Member of Parliament then ſitting therein, of putting the Commiſſion of Array in Execution, directed to them and ſome others of note in *London*, (whoſe names it will be too tedious to repeat) and conveyed to their hands by the Lady *Aubigney*, (Mother to his Highneſſe the now Duke of *Richmond*) who had a paſſe from their General to come to *London*. This Commiſſion had been formerly proclaimed by Sir *Richard Gurney*, Lord Mayor of *London*, who for ſo doing was caſt into the Tower, and fined, which not long after he freed himſelf from by Death: Theſe perſons engaged in it afreſh upon more prevailing motives, for the Kingdom was all in a flame, the War being then dilated and ſpread throughout it, and all endeavours uſed at home to perpetuate it, without any reconciliation, Trade decayed, Laws trampled upon, all things Sacred and Civil invaded, and Arts uſed to juſti-

fie

fie the Exorbitances of thoſe illegal actions, Petitions for Peace ſerving rather to embroyle and make things more deſperate, then to accommodate the difference, for nothing but Bonds abided ſuch Addreſſes. I ſay theſe truly loyal and ſober Conſiderations, wrought in them and a number more of able Citizens a reſolution of putting an end to the Troubles by their own conſultations, ſeeing there was no hopes left in thoſe of the Parliament, who every day proved more obſtinate then another. In tendency whereunto, a deſign was formed by vertue of the Commiſſion aforeſaid to raiſe Men and Armes, and by force thereof to put the King into the poſſeſſion of the City, from whence he had been ſo unmannerly driven, and ſo put an end to the War, the ſource of it, this Magazine of Money and Men being once ſeized on, and the Progeny of Young Warriours kept from the Harveſt of Death in the fatal Field.

This was but projected after ſome deliberations of the Enterprize, as naming of Officers, aſſigning the ſeverall Poſts and Stations, when the quick ſcented Spyes of the Faction, by the over-ſedulous working of ſome principals in the matter, who were not ſo wary as a buſineſſe of that importance required, came to ſome tracts of the deſign, which they left not while they had lodged it in thoſe and the other perſons hands, whom they preſently ſecured in *Newgate*, and having prepared their Charge againſt them as Spyes in that Garriſon of *London*, and to guilty of Treachery, they were convened before a Court Martiall (where *Iſaac Pennington*, twice Lord Mayor, was the moſt active and inſtrumental) at *Guild-hall*, where they condemned ſix of them, Mr. *Waller* by potent Friendſhip, and a Fine of ten thouſand Pounds eſcaped, with Impriſonment during the Parliaments pleaſure, Mr. *Blackborn* and Mr. *Waite* were alſo reprieved, as not ſo throughly engaged, but theſe two Gentlemen paid for all, being for the greater aggravation of their Sentence (though their Enemies wrongly computed it) ordered to be hanged at their own doors, the one upon *Holborn-hill*, the other at the Exchange in *Cornhill*, where they diſappointed their Enemies Triumphs, dying

Christianly resolute, to the general grief of the sad spectators, who began to resent these bloudy practises.

Mr. Daniel Kniveton *Hanged at the Old Exchange in* Cornhill, *November* 27. 1643.

THe ill reception the bloudy effects of their Malice against these 2. persons foregoing only for their duty to their King and country, met with, stopt for a while that sluce of blood their fury would have let open, so that the gibbet was idle for almost 4. months, till the people had digested those late crudities. Now it was time to remember the Subject of the power and privileges of Parliament, by this ensuing Tragedie.

This Mr. *Kniveton* was formerly a Haberdasher in *Fleetstreet*, and at the departure of his Majesty from *White hall* left the City and went to *Oxford* to serve his Majesty, by whom he was there employed as a Messenger of his chamber: In the Employment whereof, he was sent to *London*, to signifie the Kings pleasure that the Term of *Michaelmas* was by his Command prorogued, Letters to that purpose being sent to their pretended Judges and Commissioners, who sate upon the Benches in *Westminster* Hall. The reason of this Prorogation was, because the Parliament had caused a new Broad Seal to be made in lieu of that which my Lord *Littleton* a little before conveyed to *Oxford*, contrary to his Majesties Royal authority, and beyond all the daring attempts of any former Rebellion in this Kingdom.

With this Message he came, and delivered it according to the tenour of his instructions, but was immediately thereupon seized, contrary to the universal practice and custom of all Nations, which gives security and free passage to all such qualified persons; and committed to custody inorder to a Trial by a Court of War, those Barbarous

barous Tyrannical Stateſmen not daring to hazard their Authoritie and the Juſtice of their cauſe to the deciſion of the Common Law of *England*. To this ſanguine Tribunal no truly Loyal perſon was ever brought, who was within the reach of their guilty Talons, that ever eſcaped with their skin: ſo that it was in vain to invoke either their Honour, Conſcience or Duty, or to plead ones own; for this perſon was no ſooner convened at *Eſſex* houſe in the *Strand*, their Generals Manſion, whither he was come unrevenged and vext fro *Newbury* firſt Fight, but without any more adoe, as the object of their rage and ſpight, the Court Martial (met there for that purpoſe) condemned him to be hanged as a Spy, for bringing Letters from, and maintaining intelligence with the enemy.

There was no time given for this Meſſenger to prepare himſelf, beyond the civility of ſome few Hours, for the Men at *Weſtminſter* were enraged that any man ſhould preſume to tell them that it was Treaſon to counterfeit the great Seal; and if ſuch continual Meſſages upon every of their actions ſhould be brought and declared, it might in time open the eyes of the people to underſtand the Law, and leave them in concluſion to its Juſtice and their due deſert.

He was brought according to his Sentence on the ſaid 27. of November on foot from Newgate, accompanied with Mr. *Benſon* a Bookſeller his acquaintance in *Fleet-ſtreet*, to a Gibbet erected over againſt the Exchange, where (as 'tis already moſt ingeniouſly and fitly worded) he may moſt properly be ſaid to have *ſealed* his Cauſe with his *Blood*, being *ſent* of a more happy *Meſſage* to Heaven, where his *Bliſſe* and Eternal joyfull ſtate ſhall haye no *Term*, nor End.

Captain

Captain Burleigh *Hanged at* Winchester, Febr. 10. 1647.

HE that can read this ſad ſtory without a more then ordinary compaſſion, rightly conſidering the circumſtances thereof, hath a heart of Marble, and is of the race of the ſelf ſame ſort of men who committed this murther upon this Loyal Perſon. For the Execution of him was the very abſurdity and ſoleciſme of Law, the contradiction of *Magna Charta*, the infringement and violation of Nature; and if it were poſſible without any angry aggrevation to ſtrain it higher then an affront and Rebellion againſt the ſupreme power of the Univerſe, it would paſſe with a leſſer ignominy then the merit of this Cauſe will afford it.

This Gentleman had been a Captain in the Kings Army, where he behaved himſelf with that gallantry and reſolution, as to become noted and conſpicuous among other noble brave Perſons, who with him aſſerted his Majeſties Cauſe and Intereſt, and after the fatal expiration thereof, returned to his own dwelling and habitation in the *Iſle of Wight*, whither after many unfortunate Traverſes by the Treaſonable practiſes of the Army, the King himſelf came; upon his arrivall this Captain ſhewed no little gladneſſe, as conceiving his Majeſty had upon good grounds made that Iſland his Sanctuary, which he promiſed to himſelf upon indifferent terms to be able to make good, and ſecure his Perſon with Honour and ſafety, from any oppoſition would be made there where himſelf had no ſmall influence and power. But when he perceived the falſeneſſe and Treachery of *Hammond* the Governour, who as it appeared was ſent thither to that impious purpoſe, and that in tendency to further miſchief from him and his Complices, the Parliament had voted their Votes of Non Addreſſe, accompanied with ſeverall other undutifull and unchriſtian contempts of ſo vertuous and gentle a Prince: Theſe hopes converted into a juſt

indignation

indignation of those fellows, and a hasty resolution of freeing that captive Majesty from the close and frightfull obscurities of a Prison, where the Artifices of his Rebels had brought and immured him.

Some people have blamed him for the rashnesse of the attempt, which was beating of a Drum, and summoning all Loyal Persons to his Majesties rescue, when there was a new addition of Guards lately sent into the Island; for my part I do rather blame other mens slownesse in not flying to their Armes at the first instant of such an advantage, and suffering this worthy Person to perish for daring to do that which was every mans duty; for the very Drums themselves by the sympathy of Musick, would have sounded and made a noise returning the eccho of those grones and sighs which the King made to his more compassionate Walls, who received them without reviling and disdainfull replyes.

It pleased God to suffer him to fail in his undertaking, the rigid severity of the Souldiery fighting and deterring all men from lifting up a finger either for their Soveraign or themselves, so that he was presently laid hold on by a Guard from *Carisbrook* Castle, who made hast to prevent any embodying of the Islanders, and forthwith conveyed him to *Winchester*, where by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, directed to Serjeant *Wilde*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, (a bloody stickler in this businesse) Mr. *Wallop*, and others, he was arraigned and tryed by a packt Jury of ignorant and seditious fellows, and condemned; for which service, and for acquitting one Major *Rolfe*, (who was accused and indicted for an attempt of assassinating the King with a brace of Pistols at the *Isle of Wight*) *Wilde* had the thanks of the House, and was made Lord chief Baron.

This was the first essay the Parliament ever durst make of a Tryal by Law, when to fight for the King was proved fighting against him; so that Captain *Burleigh* gave the first proof what the Law would signifie thereafter, being barbarously murdered for his Loyalty the day and year aforesaid.

Sir

Sir Charles Lucas, *and Sir* George Liſle, *Shot to Death at* Colcheſter, Auguſt 28. 1648.

THeſe two moſt Eminent Perſons for their Loyaltie, Courage and true Honour, as they were by thoſe virtues conjoyned in their Lives, were for the very ſame conjoyned in their Deaths; wherefore it will be very juſt, as a tribute due to their Fame and memory, to deduce them from their ſplendid and fair Originals.

Sir *Charles Lucas* was a younger Deſcendant and Brother to the Honourable Lord *Lucas*, (who at this day ſurvives, being the great pillar and Columne of his Illuſtrious Houſe, the integrate vertues of his Family being centred in his perſon) poſſeſſed of an antient Eſtate and Inheritance in the County of *Eſſex*, where the Scene of this Tragedy againſt his dearly beloved and only Brother was wickedly and barbarouſly laid.

Sir *Charles Lucas* his martial Spirit and inclination indulged him not the repoſe and tranquillity of a Country life, where he had a very Competent Eſtate and Fortune ſuitable to his quality, being honoured by King *Charles* the Martyr with the degree of Knighthood, as a ſpeciall mark of thoſe virtues that prudent Prince foreſaw blooming in him in his Juvenile years. Theſe he made very conſpicuous firſt abroad, and then in the Engliſh Expedition againſt the Scots upon the Tumults and Rebellion in that kingdom when he raiſed a Troop of Horſe here in *London* for that ſervice, where he performed his part (as far as that unlucky Enterpriſe permitted, which was rather a ceſſation from then a real War) by his vigilance, Conduct and wiſe reſolution ſo ſignally, that it purchaſed him the deſerved name of a right valiant Souldier and from whom the King and kingdom might expect advantages, if the face of ſuch ill aſpected Times ſhould thereafter require his aſſiſting hand.

Thoſe feared diſaſters no ſooner befell us in the Cala-

mities

mities of our Civil Broyles, but Sir *Charles* readily presented his Service to his Soveraign, according to his Allegiance and the precept of the Law; both which were then clowded and obscured by the Mists and Foggs of vulgar Murmurs and the thick darkness of those infernal pretences of Liberty and Religion, which the Grandees at *Westminster* had cast abroad every where, so that few could discern their Duty from their Danger, the Multitude being misled into those confusions, which afterwards involved them in the Tyranny and Anarchy of the late Usurpations.

In the contest of this betwixt the King and them, severall famous Fields and Seiges rendered Sir *Charles* very famous, particularly those bloody Theatres of English Valour, *Newbery* Fields, and *Marston Moor*, where to mention his Gallantry and the exceeding merit both of his personal and publique performances, were only to abridge their glories, which have their lustre only in our large Annals.

When the Kings Field Forces were unhappily reduced, Sir *Charles* was entrusted with the keeping of *Berckley* Castle in *Gloucester-shire*, whither Col. *Rainsborough* was sent from the main Army under Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, (who was employed about places of the first and greatest importance) to attack and beleagure him, severall approaches were made by him, and severall attemps and summons, but all to no purpose, Sir *Charles* refusing any Treaty with that Rebell Enemy, telling them he would first eat Horse flesh, and then Dogs flesh before he would think of a Surrender; which yet notwithstanding he was forced to submit to, when the Assailants by bold and venturous working had planted a Battery, which indefensibly was ready to beat down the Castle about his ears; and the Resolution of his stomack reserved to another Seige at *Colchester*, to which we next proceed.

For though the War was ended with the rendition of the King and his Garrisons into the Parliaments hands, yet were the miseries of it in effect but then beginning, the two Factions of *Presbytery* and *Independency* designing the entire spoil of the Kingdom to themselves, which to

effect,

effect, there was no other way but to lay the King aside as to his Authority, and make use of his Name to the severall advantages of either Party, while in the interim what with Sequestrations of the Loyal Gentry, the Rates and Assessments, and Free-quarter upon City and Country, they had miserably exhausted the Kingdom.

These pressures & unsufferable grievances awakened the whole Nation to endeavour their deliverance, even those who had formerly sided with them, under the delusions of their Religious shews, became their Enemies, perceiving those Grandees to make no conscience of whatsoever they had professed, protested, covenanted and sworn to, so that after severall Petitions from most adjacent Counties to *London* for Peace, and as the only expedient thereunto, a Treaty with, and the re-settlement of the King, all to no purpose (for the Tyrants thought to perpetuate themselves) the *Presbyterians* resolute to take away his Majesties Power and Regality, and the *Independents* under wicked and impious Oathes, & assurances of restoring him, resolving to take away his life, and to murther him: A Loyal and Universal confederation was entered into by the Counties of *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Essex*, *Hartford-shire*, & *Sussex*, together with the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, where the design was contrived, most of the Cavalry being then in Town, (though often ferretted out with Proclamations of departing 20. miles beyond the lines of Communication)

This unanimous undertaking, for all the Spyes & Emissaries imployed by the Parliament to discover it, appeared very formidable in *Kent*, to the number of 7, or 8000. men, part Country-men, and part Citizens & Apprentices, rendezvouzing at *Rochester*, where they chose my Ld. *Goring* for their Generall; this happened at the end of *May*, at which time the Fleet revolted, and Sir *Nicholas Kemish* and Sir *John Owen* were up in *Wales*, as also Col. *Poyer* and *Langhorn*, Sir *M. Langdale*, and Sir *Phil. Musgrave* had surprized *Berwick*, and their Forces *Pomfret*, and the *Scotch* Army was entring into *England*: so well had they formed & acted the design. But it pleased God at *Maidstone* to give a check thereunto by the Army under *Fairfax*, though the Royalists fought fiercely, and did as much

much as ever men did, which their Enemies felt and acknowledged. These Forces at *Maidstone* were but a part of the Army, wch. having untimely notice of the encounter, marched thence to *Black-heath*, expecting the City according to agreement would declare with them & thence ferried and swam their Horse to the *Isle of Dogs* & made a nearer approach, quartring at *Mile-end*, & *Stratford Bow*.

Here the *Essex* Forces under this Noble Chieftain, assisted with some other prime Gentlemen of the County, joyned themselves & having seized upon the Committee, they marched away with them to *Colchester*: in their way thither they were encreased by another supply out of *Hertfordshire*, under the Ld. *Capel*, who likewise put himself into this Engagement to give it the greater countenance & reputation. By this time *Fairfax* had passed over his Army about *Gravesend*, and made all speed he could after them, and came so near them at their arrival thither, that a sharp encounter passed just at the very Gates, to a considerable loss on the Parliaments side, which was favoured no more during the whole Siege, but was sharply dealt withall, more particularly in the supplies of the *Suffolk* Trained bands, whom the besieged for their unnaturall baseness did perpetually annoy with their Canon & Salleys, which were most frequently and desperately made.

Their design of holding and entring into this Town, was to keep the grand Army in attendance of them, while the *Scots* might enter unmolested, it being not then easily conceivable what Force the Parliament could spare to oppose them, being engaged here in *Essex*, in *Wales*, and in *Surrey*, at one and the same time. But those their difficulties by Gods judgement being all surmounted, proved the greater aggravation in the doom of this *Heroe*, when after a Seige of 3. months, in which time they had omitted nothing either in the rules of Valour and Prudence to their preservation but had dared necessity, eating of Dogs and Horses, so that scarce one was left, expecting still relief from the *Scotch* Army, till enformed by the Enemy that the said Army was defeated at *Preston* in *Lancashire*, and having other tidings of the like nature, after a fruitless resolve of breaking through, they rendred all to

Discretion

Diſcretion and Quarter. The firſt whereof this noble Martyr by his death exemplified for ſavage Brutality.

I will forbear the mention of his Execution, till I have gathered a flower to ſtrow on the Hearſe of his dear friend Sir *George Liſle*, who having accompanied his active Valour, was now to ſecond him in this paſſive Fortitude, againſt their Enemies Revenge. He was born in *London*, his Father being (highly advanced by his Marriage with a Kinſwoman of the Duke of *Buckinghams*, a beauteous and accompliſht Gentlewoman, from whom he chiefly took his Nobleneſſe and Generoſity of ſpirit, an inherent vertue in that Family) a Citizen of a very large Eſtate, great Abilities, and good Fame, who following *Cæſars* Fortune, upon the Kings ſettlement at *Oxford*, repaired thither with his Family, the main ſupport whereof this valourous Young Gentleman (formerly bred at the Inns of Court) delighted in the exerciſe of Armes, which ſo good a Cauſe commended to him, betook himſelf into the Field; His moſt ſignal ſtage being *Newbery*, where while a blade of Graſſe ſhall grow, the undaunted *Liſle* ſhall be thereon written. It will be needleſſe to recite thoſe Atchievements, for of a truth there is none ſo ignorant who hath not heard of them. At the expiration of the War he was likewiſe made Governour of *Faringdon*, a Garriſon which had been a thorn and a goad to the Parliaments ſide, and continued ſo one of the laſt, being delivered by Sir *George* then in *Oxford*, upon the ſame terms and capitulations by which that City was ſurrendred. From whence coming to *London*, the ſame Royal deſign for the reſtoring the King, and the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, engaged him with the reſt of thoſe Noble Volunteers, in this Tragical Seige of *Colcheſter*.

Having thus rendred to diſcretion, *Fairfax*'s Council of War pickt out three to ſacrifice to their malice, (a 4th. one Col. *Farr* hardly eſcaping) *viz.* Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Liſle*, and Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne*, who was at laſt alſo reprieved. The reaſon of this baſe bloody proceeding againſt Sir *Charles*, was imputed to an old grudge betwixt *Fairfax* and him abroad, where 'tis reported

ported Sir *Charles* had wounded him: Againſt Sir *George* their only ſpleen was becauſe they knew him a reſtleſſe and reſolute Enemy, and one who would never give over that Loyal courage to his laſt drop of Blood, which they would now ſee poured out.

This fatal decree being paſt againſt them, was communicated inſtantly upon the ſurrender to theſe two Champions, (who with other the ſupreme Officers were aſſembled at the *Kings-head* Tavern) and that they muſt inſtantly prepare for Execution; which ſad Doom they chearfully received, and having taken leave of their dear Companions, and ſpent an hour or two in private preparatory Devotion, they were led forth of the Town to their Enemies Camp, where the Muſquiteers being ready, Sir *Charles Lucas* had the priority of Death aſſigned him.

Major Pitcher *ſhot to Death in St.* Pauls *Church-yard* London, Dec. 19. 1648.

I Shall be very brief in the Hiſtory of this Perſon, becauſe I find little mention of him any where, ſave in the News-book: Upon this ſad occaſion, and a private intelligence for a Royaliſt, that he had conſtantly and faithfully ſerved his Majeſty throughout the War, and upon the ſame principles engaged in the reviving of it the year 1648. in the *Welch* buſineſſe under Col. *Poyer*, *Laughorn*, and *Powell*, who had ſecured *Pembroke* Town and Caſtle, *Tenby* Caſtle, and other places thereabouts, upon pretence of non-disbanding, being formerly Parliament Officers, but in reality for the King, to whom and his intereſt, they too late endeavoured to return.

This loyal enterprize was defeated in *May* at St. *Fagons* by Col. *Horton*, through the confuſion and unpreparedneſſe of the *Welch*, and the remains of that diſcomfiture forced to ſhelter in *Pembrook*, which after a long reſiſtance, and great loſſe and Execution upon the Aſſailants,

was constrained at last to surrender upon these Terms; *The aforesaid three Superiour Officers who Commanded together in chief, to surrender at Mercy. All other Officers to depart the Kingdom, and not to return into any part of it within two years next following. The Souldiers to have Passes to go to their own homes and be indempnified.* In the second of these this Gentleman was concerned, and during the time limited for his departure, conveyed himself to *London*, in order to some further service for the King, which was yet carried on in these parts; but coming too late for any convenience of joyning with them, he hankered privately in and about *London*, still expecting some happy emergency or attempt for the King, then every where miserably received in the love and affection of his seduced Subjects.

While he thus awaited such opportunities, or whether his time (by a disappointed Expection) was past wherein he should have transported himself, and so it was too late to venture their civility for a Passe; he was taken in *London* by some of the Army setters, who were bloodily vigilant upon such Transgressors of their Articles, and convened before a Council of War, and there condemned to be shot to Death for breach of the said Conditions, which was executed the day and year aforesaid in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, against St. *Pauls* Door, where he resolutely and christianly resigned his body to be Martyred by their cruelty, and his soul to be saved by Gods mercy.

Col.

Col. Poyer *ſhot to Death in* Covent Garden, Febr. 1648.

I Cannot deny this Gentleman a place in the Roll of Martyrs and therefore will no farther divide him from Major *Pitcher*, who ſuffered with him by the tenour of the ſaid Articles. After the ſurrender of *Pembroke*, he with the other two were ſent Priſoners to *London*, to expect the doom of the Generall, to whoſe diſcretion they rendered, who was pleaſed becauſe they had till then been like offenders, to afford them the favour of drawing Lots for their Lives, and onely but one of the three to ſuffer, which Lots were certain little Rolls of paper, in one whereof was written *DEATH*, all three of them being delivered out of a Hat by a little Child: It proved this Collonels fortune to meet with that fatall ſcroll, and though his Wife with tears, and his Friends by perſwaſions and intereſt, did what they could to preſerve him, yet he ſuffered according to that preſcription, (though with ſome kind of reluctancy) againſt *Bedford* wall, by the *Piazzas* in *Covent Garden*, as aforeſaid.

Mr.

Mr. Beaumont *a Minister Executed at* Pomfret, Febr. 15. 1648.

WHither will this River of blood lead the amazed Reader? who yet with lesse horrour may pursue these drops, then that floud of our Martyred Soveraigns, which carried all our Lives, Liberties, and Laws before it, and left the Nation to the unbounded fury of those Rebells designs. This Martyr was the very next that tasted of that Cup, which they had but lately given the King, being taken as a Spy that maintained intelligence with the Garrison of *Pomfret* Castle, which Col. *Morrice* (sometime a Servant to the right glorious Martyr the late Earl of *Strafford*) and other Loyal Persons, then being in the County of *York*, had surprized on the 2d. of *June* 1647. and notwithstanding a close Seige and a potent enemy, had maintained the place, fetching in provision through the Enemies Camp, in which service this Orthodox Minister had himself also frequently before adventured. He was surprized by them in a disguize, as he was passing to the Castle, and being presently Tryed by a Court Martial, was condemned to be hanged, which they most vigorously and ignominiously executed, the rather for Revenge for the Death of Col. *Rainsborough*, whom the besieged by a bold and brave attempt had killed in his Inne; as also for his very function sake, which he had adorned with a blamelesse conversation, and pure and sincere Doctrine, to the exulceration of their hatred against him, which could endure no reproof or correction. What was so tedious to them in his Life, he made more irksome to them at his Death; declaring to them the desperate crying sinfullnesse of those bloody Facts, especially the murder of their good and lawfull Soveraign, and so like a true and painfull Minister of Christ Jesus, accepted his Crosse and followed him.

The

The Granville Library

James, Marques of Hamilton, Earle of Cambridge, & Arran.

The three ſeveral Speeches of Duke *Hamilton* Earl of *Cambridge*, The Earl of *Holland* and the Lord *Capell*, immediately before their Execution upon the *Scaffold* in the Pallace-yard *Weſtminſter*, on *Friday March* 9. 1649.

Duke *Hamilton* Earl of *Cambridge*, his Speech on the *Scaffold*, *March* 9. 1649.

UPon Friday the ninth of this inſtant, being the day appointed for the Execution of the ſentence of death upon Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capell*, about ten of Clock that morning L. Col. *Beecher* came with his Order to the ſeverall Priſoners at St. *James*, requiring them to come away; according to which Order they were carried in Sedans, with a guard to Sr. *Thomas Cottons* houſe at *Weſtminſter*, where they continued about the ſpace of two hours, paſſing away moſt of that time in religious and ſeaſonable conferences with the Miniſters, there preſent with them. After which, being called away to the Scaffold, it was deſired, that before they went they might have the opportunity of commending their ſouls to God by prayer, which being readily granted, and the Room voided, Mr. *Bolton* was deſired by the Lord of *Holland* to take that pains with them,

Which was accordingly don with great appearance of solemn Affections among them, Prayer being concluded and hearty thanks recursed by them all to the Ministers who performed as also to the rest who were their Assistants in this sad time of trouble; the Earl of *Cambridg* prepared & fit to go towards the place of Execution; and after mutual embraces and some short ejaculatory expressions to and for his fellow sufferers, he tooke his leave of them all and went along with the Officers, attended upon by Dr. *Sibbald*, whom he had chosen for his Comforter in this his sad condition.

The Scaffold being erected in the new Palace-yeard at *Westminster*, over against the great Hall-Gate in the sight of place where the High Court of Justice formerly sate (the Hall-doors being open;) there was his Excellencies Regiment of Horse commanded by Capt. *Disher* and several Companies of Col. *Henson*, and Col. *Prides* Regiments of Foot drawn in the place: when the Earl came from *Westminster* Hal near the Scaffold he was met by the Undersheriff of *Middlesex* and a Guard of his men who took the charg of him from Lieut. Col. *Beecher* and the partizans that were his Guard: The Sheriff of *London* being also according to command from the High Court of Justice, present, to see the Execution performed.

Duke Hamilton being come upon the Scaffold and two of his own servants waiting upon him, he first spake to the Doctor as followeth,

Duke, whether shall I pray first;

Dr. *Sibbald*. As your Lordship pleases.

Duke. My Lord of *Denbigh* has sent to speak with me.

I know not the fashion, I may ask you Sir; Doe those Gentlemen expect I should say any thing to them, or no? they cannot hear.

Dr. Sibbald. There will be a greater silence by and by it will not be amiss, if your Lordship defer your speaking till you hear from his Lordship.

Duke. There is something in it. He was with the Horse,

D

Dr. *Sibbald.* I ſuppoſe he would give no interruption to your Lordſhip, at this time were there not ſomething of concernment in it.

Duke. He is my Brother, and has been a very faithful ſervant to the State, and he was in great eſteem and reputation with them.

He is in the Hall, and ſent to ſpeak with a ſervant of mine to ſend ſomething to me.

Sibbald. It will not lengthen the time much if you ſtay while you have a return from him. My Lord you ſhould do well to beſtow your time now in meditating upon, and imploring of the free mercy of God in Chriſt for your eternal Salvation, and look upon that ever-ſtreaming Fountian of his precious Bloud, that purgeth us from all our ſins, even the ſins of the deepeſt die: the Bloud of Jeſus Chriſt waſhes away all our ſins, and that Bloud of Chriſt is poured forth upon all ſuch as by a lively Faith lay hold upon him: God ſo loved the World that he gave his onely begotten Son, to the end, that whoſoever believed in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life: that is now, my Lord, the Rock upon which you muſt chiefly reſt, and labour to fix your ſelf in the free mercy of God through Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe mercies are everlaſting to everlaſting, to everlaſting, unto all ſuch as with the eye of Faith behold him: behold Jeſus the Author and Finiſher of your Salvation. who hath ſatisfied the Juſtice of God by that all-ſufficiency of his Sacrifice, which once for all he offered upon the Croſs for the ſins of the whole world, ſo that the ſting of death is taken away from all Believers, and he hath ſanctified it as a paſſage to everlaſting bleſſedneſs: It is true, the waters of *Jordan* run ſomewhat rough and ſurely betwixt the Wilderneſs and out paſſage into *Canaan*, but let us reſt upon the ark (my Lord) the Ark Chriſt Jeſus, that will carry us through and above all thoſe waves to the rock of ages, which no floud nor waves can reach unto, and to him who is yeſterday, to day, and the ſame for ever, againſt whom the powers and principalities, the gates of hell ſhall never be able to prevail; lift up & faſten your eys now upon Chriſt

crucified, and labour to behold Jesus stand at the right hand of his Father, (as the Protomartyr *Stephen*) ready to receive your soul, when it shall be parted from this frail and mortall body: Alas no man would desire life if he knew before hand what it were to live, it is nothing but sorrow, vexation and trouble, grief and discontentment that waits upon every condition, whether publick or private: in every station and calling there are severall miseries and troubles that are inseparable from them therefore what a blessed thing it is to have a speedy and comfortable passage out of this raging sea into the Port of everlasting happinesse: We must passthrough a sea, but it is the sea of Christs Blood, in which never soul suffered shipwrack, in which we must be blown with winds and tempests, but they are the gales of Gods Spirit upon us, which blow away all contrary winds of diffidence in his mercy.

Here one acquainting the Earl, his servant was coming, he answered. So Sir: And turning to the under-Sheriffs Son, said,

Duke. Sir, you have your Warrant here,

Sheriffe Yes, my Lord, we have a Command.

Duke. A Command.

I take this time, Sir, of staying in regard of the Earl of *Denbighs* fiddling to speak with me, I know not for what it is he desires me to stay,

Dr. *Sibbald.* I presume Mr, Sheriffe will not grudge your Lordship a few minutes time, when so great a work as this is in hand.

His Lordships servant being returned, and having delivered his message to the Earl *of Cambridge privately, he said: So, it is done now: and then turning the front of the Scaffe before which (as in all the rest of the Pallaces there was a great concourse of people, he said.*

Duke

Duke. I think it is truly not very neceſſary for me to ſpeak much, there are many Gentlemen and Souldiers there that ſee me, but my voice truly is ſo weak, ſo low that they cannot hear me, neither truly was I ever at any time ſo much in love with ſpeaking, or with any thing I had to expreſſe, that I took delight in it: yet this being the laſt time that I am to do ſo, by a divine Providence of Almighty God, who hath brought me to this end juſtly for my ſins, I ſhall to you Sir, Mr. Sheriffe, declare thus much, as to the matter that I am now to ſuffer for, which is as being a Traytor to the *Kingdome of England*: truly Sir, It was a Country that I equally loved, with my own, I made no difference: I never intended either the generality of it's prejudice, or any particular mans in it: what I did was by the Command of the *Parliament* of the Country where I was born, whoſe Commands I could not diſobey, without running into the ſame hazzard there of that condition that I am now in, The ends, Sir, of that Engagement is publick, they are in Print, and ſo I ſhall not need to ſpecifie them.

Dr. *Sibbald.* The Sun parhaps will be too much in your *Lord*ſhips face, as you ſpeak.

Duke. No Sir it will not burn it. I hope I ſhall ſee a a brighter Sun then this, Sir, very ſpeedily.

Dr. *Sibbald.* The Sun of Righteouſneſſe my *Lord*.

Duke. (But to that which I was ſaying Sir.) It pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe that Army under my Command, as it was ruined; and I, as their *General* cloathed with a Commiſſion, ſtand here now ready to dye; I ſhall not trouble you with repeating of my *Plea*, what I ſaid in my own defence at the Court of *JVSTICE*, my ſelf being ſatisfied with the command that is laid upon me, and they ſatisfied with the juſtneſſe of their procedure; according to the *Laws* of this *Land*. God is juſt, and howſoever I ſhal not ſay any thing as to the matter of the *Sentence*, but that I do willingly ſubmit to his Divine Providence, and I acknowledge that very many ways I deſerve even a wordly puniſhment, as well as hereafter; for we are all ſinfull, Sir, and I a great one; yet for my

crucified, and labour to behold Jesus stand at the right hand of his Father, (as the Protomartyr *Stephen*) ready to receive your soul, when it shall be parted from this frail and mortall body: Alas no man would desire life if he knew before hand what it were to live, it is nothing but sorrows, vexation and trouble, grief and discontentment that waits upon every condition, whether publick or private: in every station and calling there are severall miseries and troubles that are inseparable from them therefore what a blessed thing it is to have a speedy and comfortable passage out of this raging sea into the Port of everlasting happinesse: We must pass through a sea, but it is the sea of Christs Blood, in which never soul suffered shipwrack, in which we must be blown with winds and tempests, but they are the gales of Gods Spirit upon us, which blow away all contrary winds of diffidence in his mercy.

Here one acquainting the Earl, his servant was coming, he answered. So Sir: And turning to the under-Sheriffs Son, said,

Duke. Sir, you have your Warrant here,

Sheriffe Yes, my Lord, we have a Command.

Duke. A Command.

I take this time, Sir, of staying in regard of the Earl of *Denbighs* sedding to speak with me, I know not for what it is he desires me to stay.

Dr. *Sibbald.* I presume Mr, Sheriffe will not grudge your Lordship a few minutes time, when so great a work as this is in hand.

His Lordships servant being returned, and having delivered his message to the Earl of Cambridge *privately, he said: So, it is done now: and then turning the front of the Scaffe before which (as in all the rest of the Pallaces there was a great concourse of people, he said.*

Duke

Duke. I think it is truly not very neceſſary for me to ſpeak much, there are many Gentlemen and Souldiers there that ſee me, but my voice truly is ſo weak, ſo low that they cannot hear me, neither truly was I ever at any time ſo much in love with ſpeaking, or with any thing I had to expreſſe, that I took delight in it: yet this being the laſt time that I am to do ſo, by a divine Providence of *Almighty* God, who hath brought me to this end juſtly for my ſins, I ſhall to you Sir, Mr. Sheriffe, declare thus much, as to the matter that I am now to ſuffer for, which is as being a Traytor to the *Kingdome of England*: truly Sir, It was a Country that I equally loved, with my own, I made no difference: I never intended either the generality of it's prejudice, or any particular mans in it: what I did was by the Command of the *Parliament* of the Country where I was born, whoſe Commands I could not diſobey, without running into the ſame hazzard there of that condition that I am now in, The ends, Sir, of that Engagement is publick, they are in Print, and ſo I ſhall not need to ſpecifie them.

Dr. *Sibbald.* The Sun parhaps will be too much in your *Lord*ſhips face, as you ſpeak.

Duke. No Sir it will not burn it. I hope I ſhall ſee a a brighter Sun then this, Sir, very ſpeedily.

Dr. *Sibbald.* The Sun of Righteouſneſſe my *Lord*.

Duke. (But to that which I was ſaying Sir.) *It* pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe that Army under my Command, as it was ruined; and I, as their *General* cloathed with a Commiſſion, ſtand here now ready to dye; I ſhall not trouble you with repeating of my *Plea*, what I ſaid in my own defence at the Court of *JVSTICE*, my ſelf being ſatisfied with the command that is laid upon me, and they ſatisfied with the juſtneſſe of their procedure; according to the *Laws* of this *Land*. God is juſt, and howſoever I ſhal not ſay any thing as to the matter of the *Sentence*, but that I do willingly ſubmit to his Divine *Providence*, and I acknowledge that very many ways I deſerve even a wordly puniſhment, as well as hereafter; for we are all ſinfull, Sir, and I a great one; yet for my

comfort, I know there is a God in heaven that is exceeding merciſull: I know my Redeemer ſits at his Right Hand, and am confident, (clapping his hand to his Breaſt) is Mediating for me at this inſtant: I am hopefull through his free grace and all-ſufficient merits, to be pardoned of my ſins, and to be received into his mercy; upon that I rely, truſting to nothing but the Free Grace of God through Jeſus Chriſt; I have not been tainted with my Religion, I thank God for it, ſince my infancy, it hath been ſuch as hath been profeſt in the Land and ſtabliſhed: and now 'tis not this Religion or that Religion, or this or that Fancy of men that is to be built upon; 'tis but one that's right one that is ſure, and that comes from God, Sir, and in the free grace of our Saviour Sir there is truly ſomething, that (*had I thought my Speech would have been thus taken) I would "Obſerving have digeſted it into ſome better method the writers, than now I can, and ſhal deſire theſe Gentlemen that do write it, that they wil not wrong me in it, and that may not in this manner be publiſhed to my diſadvantage, for truly I did not intend to have ſpoken thus when I came here,

There is Sirs terrible aſperſions has been laid upon my ſelf, truly ſuch as if my actions and intentions had not been ſuch as they were pretended for: but notwithſtanding what I pretended it was for the King, there was nothing leſs intended then to ſerve him in it. I was his domeſtick ſervant, and there was nothing declaired by the Parliament, that was not really intended by me: and truly in it I ventured my life one way, and now I loſe in another way: and that was one of the ends, as to the King: I ſpeak onely of that, becauſe the reſt has many particulars, and to clear my ſelf from ſo horrid an aſperſion as is laid upon me; neither was there any other deſign known to me by the incoming of the Army, then whas is really in the Declaration publiſhed, His per-

for I do profesſe I had reaſon to love as he was my King and as he had been my Maſter, it has pleaſed God now to diſpoſe of him, ſo as it cannot be thought flattery to have ſaid this, or any end in me for the ſaying of it, but to free my ſelf from that calumny which lay upon me I cannot gain by it: yet truth is that which we ſhall gain by for ever.

There hath been much ſpoken, Sir, of an invitation into this Kingdome: it is mentioned in that Declaration: and truly to that I did and do remit my ſelf, and have been very much laboured for diſcoveries of theſe inviters, tis no time to diſſemble. How willing I was to have ſerved this Nation in any thing that was in my power, is known to very many honeſt, pious and Religious men: and how ready I would have been to have ſerved them, if it had pleaſed them to have preſerved my life, in whoſe hands there was a power. They have not thought it fit, and ſo I am unuſefull in that which willingly I would have done. As I ſaid at firſt (Sir) ſo I ſay now concerning that point, I wiſh the Kingdoms happineſſe, I wiſh it peace, and truly Sir I wiſh that this blood of mine may be the laſt that is drawn; and howſoever I may perhaps have ſome reluctancy with my ſelf, as to the matter of my fact, for my ſuffering for my fact, yet I freely forgive all: Sir, I carry no rancour along with me to my grave, His will be done that hath created both Heaven and Earth, and me a poor miſerable ſinfull creature now ſpeaking before him. For me to ſpeak to you (Sir) to you of State-buſineſſe, and the Government of the Kingdome, or my opinion in that, or for any thing in that nature, truly it is to no end, it contributes nothing; My own inclination hath been to peace from the beginning, and it is known to many that I never was an ill inſtrument betwixt the King and his people; I never acted the prejudice of the Parliament; I bore no arms, I meddled not with it; I was not wanting by my prayers to God Almighty for the happineſſe of the King: & truly I ſhall pray ſtill that God may di-

rect

rect him, as that may be done which shall tend to his glory, and the peace and happinesse of the Kingdome.

I have not much more to say that I remember of; I think I have spoken of my Religion.

D. Sibbald. *Your Lordship has not so fully said it.*

Duke. Truly, I do believe I did say something.

Dr, Sibbald. *I know you did, 'tis pleasing to hear it from your Lordship again.*

Duke. Truly, Sir, for the profession of my Religion; that which I said was the established Religion, and that which I have practised in my own Kingdome where I was bred and born, my Tenents they need not to be expreſt, they are known to all, and I am not of a rigid opinion, many godly men there is that may have scruples, which do not concern me at all at no time; they may differ in Opinion, and now more then at any time, differing in Opinion does not move me (not any mans) my own is clear. Sir, The Lord forgive me my sins, and I freely forgive all those that even I might (as a wordly man) have the greateſt animosity against; We are bidden to forgive, Sir, 'tis a command laid upon us (and there mentioned) *forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us.*

D. Sibb. *'Tis our Saviours Rule*, Love your enemies, Bless them that curse you, pray for them that persecute you, do good to them that despightfully use you.

Duke. Sir it is high time for me to make an end of this and truly I remember no more that I have to say, but to pray to God Almighty a few words, and then I have done.

Then kneeling down with Dr. *Sibbald*, he prayed, &c.

When the Duke had prayed a good while he turned himself to the Executioner and said, Which way is it you would have me lye, Sir,

Executio-

Executioner The Executioner pointing to the Front of the Scaffold, the Earl replyed, VVhat, my head this way (Then the Vnder-Sheriffs Son ſaid, my Lord, the Order is, that you ſhould lay your head towards the High Court of Juſtice.

The Duke, after a little diſcourſe in private with ſome of his Servants, kneeled down on the ſide of the Scaffold and prayed a while to himſelf.

VVhen he had finiſht his Prayer, Dr. *Sybbald* ſpake to him thus:

My Lord, *I humbly beſeech God that you may with an holy Chriſtian courage give up your ſoul to the hand of your faithfull Creator and gracious Redeemer; and need not be diſmaid with any ſad apprehenſion of terrours of this death, and what a bleſſed and glorious exchange you ſhall make within a very few minutes.*

Then with a cheerful and ſmiling countenance, the Earl imbracing the Doctor in his arms, ſaid.

Duke Truly, Sir, I do take you in my arms, and truly I bleſſe God for it, I do not fear, I have an aſſurance that is grounded here (laying his hand upon his heart,) now that gives me more true joy than ever I had, I paſſe out of a miſerable world to go into an Eternal and glorious Kingdome; and Sir, though *I* have been a moſt ſinfull creature; yet Gods mercy I know is infinite, and I bleſſe God for it, I go with ſo clear a Conſcience, that I know not the man that I have perſonally injured.

D. Sibbald, My Lord, it is a marvellous great satisfaction that at this last hour you can say so. I beseech the Lord for his eternal mercy strengthen your Faith, that in the very moment of your Dissolution, you may see the Armes of the Lord Jesus stretched out ready to receive your soul.

Then the Earl of Cambridg embracing those his Servants which were there present, said to each of them You have been very faithfull to me, and the Lord bless you.

Duke. Then turning to the Executioner said, I shall say a very short Prayer to my God, while I lye down there; and when I stretch out my hand (my right hand) then Sir, do your Duty: and I do freely forgive you, and so I do all the world.

D. *Sibbald.* *The Lord in great mercy go along with You, & bring You to the possession of everlasting life, strengthning Your Faith in Jesus Christ. This is a passage, My Lord, a short passage unto eternal glory, I hope through the free grace of Your gracious God, You are now able to say,* O Death where is thy sting, O Grave where is thy Victory; *and to make this comfortable answer,* Blessed be God, Blessed be God, who hath given me an assurance of victory through Christ Jesus.

Then the Earl of Cambridge said to the Executioner, Must I ly along?

Execu. Yes, and't please your Lordship.

Duke. When I stretch forth my hand —— but I will fit my head, first tell me if I be right, and how you would have me lye.

Execu. Your shirt must be pinned back, for it lyes too high upon your shoulders, (*which was done accordingly*).

Dr.

D. *Sibbald.* My Lord. *Now lift up Your eyes, now unto Jesus Christ, and cast Your self now into the everlasting Armes of Your gracious Redeemer.*

Then the Earl having laid his head over the Block said, Is this right;

D. *Sibbald Jesus the Son of David have mercy upon Your soul*

Execut. Lie a little lower, Sir.

Duk. Well, Stay then till I give you the signe. And so having laid a short space devoutly praying to himself he stretched out his right hand whereupon the Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body, which was received by 2. of his servants then kneeling by him, into a Crimson Taffatty Scarf, and that with the body immediately put into a Coffin brought upon the Scaffold for that purpose, and from thence conveyed to the house that was Sir. *John Hamiltons* at the Mews.

This execution being done the Sheriffs Guard went immediatly to meet the Earl of *Holland*, which they did in the mid-way between the Scaffold and westminster-Hall, and the Under Sheriffs son having received him into his charge, conducted him to the Scaffold, he taking M *Bolton* all the way in his hand passed all along to to the Scaffold discoursing together, upon which being come, observing his voice would not reach to the people in regard the Guard compassed the Scaffold he said;

The

Hen: Rich Earle of Holland, Ba:
of Kensington, & Lo: Generall. &c

P Stent excudit

The Earl of Holland *riſeth at* Kingſton *with other Noblemen on behalf of the King then a Priſoner; defeated there, flyes to St.* Neots, *where he is taken, he is therefore condemned before the H.C. of Juſtice, and beheaded in the Pallace-yard at* Weſtminſter, *March* 9. 1644.

THis Nobleman had a time ſerved the Parliament in the beginning of the War, and afterwards deſerted them, but finding cool reſpect at Court upon his comming thither, returned to *London* again: where after the Warre was ended, the whole Nation being diſſatisfied with the delays of the the Parliament in ſetling the Kingdome: he was induced to engage in the deſign of reſtoring the King the ſame time that the aforeſaid Duke *Hamilton* was entred *England*,

After

After the murder of the King they proceeded in their way of Justice with these Noble persons. This Earl, for all his Brother the Earl of *Warwick* had done them such great service by Sea against the King in keeping the fleet from turning to the Prince of *Wales*, then riding Admiral at Sea in the Downs could not be exempted from their cruelty: but partly to reckon with him for his first forlorn in going to *Oxford*, onely by his Example to deter others though never so great assisted by potent friends to abet the Kings cause, and Thirdly to shew their absoluteness over the lives of all men, notwithstanding the most powerful intercessions: He was condemned by the High Court of Iustice to be beheaded which was executed in the place at the time abovesaid.

His SPEECH at his Execution was as followeth,

Henry

Henry *Lord* Rich, *Earl of* Holland, *His Speech on the Scaffold, immediately before his death*, March 9.

Holland.

IT is to no purpose (I think) to speake any thing here which way must I speak; And then being directed to to the front of the Scaffold he (leaning over the Rales) said: I think it is fit to say something, since God hath called me to this place. The first thing which I must profesſe, is, what concerns my Religion, in the which I have been bred, in the which I have lived, and the which by Gods grace and mercy I shall dye. I have not lived according to that Education I had in that family where I was bred and born. I hope God will forgive me my sins, since I conceive it is very much his pleasure to bring me to this place, for the sins that I have committed. The cause that hath brought me hither, I believe by many hath been much mistaken. They have conceived that I have had ill Designs to the State, and to the Kingdome Truly I look upon it as a judgment and a just judgement of God, not but I have offended so much the State and the Kingdome, and the Parliament, as that I have had no extream vanity in serving them very extraordinarily. For those Actions that I have done, I think they have gone on courageously though at last defeated, & in ano-

ther

ther posture then they were when I was engaged with the Parliament. I have never gone off from those principles that ever I have professed: I have lived in them, and by Gods grace will dye in them. There may be Alterations and Changes that may carry them further than I thought reasonable, and truly there I left them: but there hath been nothing that I have said or done, or professed, either by Covenant or Declaration, which hath not been very constant, and very clear, upon the principles that I ever have gon upon; which was to serve the King, the Parliament, Religion, (I should have said in the first place) the Commonwealth, and to seek, the Peace of the Kingdom; That made me think it no improper times, being prest out by Accidens and Circumstances, to seek the Peace of the Kingdom, which I thought was proper-time: there was something then in Agitation, but nothing agreed on for sending Propositions to the King: that was the furtheſt aim that I had, and truly beyond that I had no intention, none at all. And God be Praised, although my blood comes to be shed here, there was I think scarce a drop of bloodshed in that action that I was engaged in. For the present Affairs as they are I cannot tell how to judge of them; and truly they are in such a condition, as (I conceive) no body can make a Judgement of them; and therefore I must make use of prayers; rather then of my Opinion; which are, That God would blesse this Kingdome, this Nation this State; that he would settle it in a way agreeable to what this Kingdome hath been happilie governed under by a King, by the Lord, by the Commons; a Government that I conceive it hath flourished much under and I pray God the change of it bring not rather a prejudice, a disorder, and a confusion, than the contrary. I look upon the posterity of the King, and truly my conscience directs me to it, to desire that if God be pleased, that these people may look upon them with that affection that they owe, that they may be called in again, and they may be, not through bloud nor through disorder, admitted again into that power, and to that glorie, that God in their birth intended to them. I shall pray with

all

all my heart, and (I hope) God will reward them for their kindneſs, & their affection, that I have found from them. * I have ſaid what Religion I have been bred in, what Religion I have been born in, what Religion I have practiſed, I began with it, and I muſt end with it. I told you that my actions and my life have not been agreeable to my breeding. I have told you likewiſe that the Family where I was bred, hath been an exemplary Family (I may ſay ſo, I hope, without vanity) of much affection to Religion, and of much faithfulneſs to this Kingdom and to this State, I have endeavoured to do thoſe actions that become an honeſt man, and a good Engliſh man, and which became a good Chriſtian. I have been willing to oblige thoſe that have been in trouble, thoſe that have been in perſecution, and truly I find a great reward of it for I have their prayers and their kindneſs now in this diſtreſs, and in this condition and I think it a great reward. I pray God reward them for it

* *looking toward* M. Bol.

I am a great ſinner, and I hope God will be pleaſed to hear my prayers, to give me faith to truſt in him, that as he hath called me to death at this place, he will make it but a paſſage to an eternal life through Jeſus Chriſt, which I truſt to, which I rely upon, and which I expect by the mercy of God. And ſo I pray God bleſs you all, and ſend that you may ſee this to be the laſt execution, and the laſt blood that is likely to be ſpilt among you. And then turning to the ſide-rayl, he prayed for a good ſpace of time; after which Mr. *Bolton* ſaid.

My Lord, now look upon him whom you have truſted, My Lord, I hope that here is your laſt prayer, there will no more prayers remain, but praiſes; and I hope that after this day is over, there will a day begin that ſhall never have end; and I look upon this (my Lord) the morning of it, the morning of that day. My Lord, You know where your fulneſs lies where your riches lye, where is your onely rock to anchor on you know there is fulneſs in Chriſt: If the Lord comes not in with fulneſs of comfort to you, yet reſolve to wait upon him while you live, and to truſt in him when you die; and ſay, I will die here, I

Will periſh at thy feet, I will be found dead at the feet of Jeſus Chriſt. Certainly, he that came to ſeek and ſave loſt ſinners, will not reject loſt ſinners when they come to ſeek him; He that intreateth us to come, will not ſleight us when we come to intreat him. My Lord there is enough there, and fix your heart there, and fix your eyes there, that eye of Faith, and that eye of Hope exerciſe theſe Graces now, there will be no exerciſe hereafter As your Lordſhip ſaid, here take an end of Faith, and take an end of Hope, and take a farewel of Repentance and all theſe; and welcome God, and welcome Chriſt, and welcome Glory, and welcome Happineſs to all eternity; and ſo it will be an happy paſſage then, if it be a paſſage here from miſery to happineſs. And though it be but a ſad way, yet, if it will bring you into the preſence of joy, although it be a valley of tears, although it be a ſhadow of death, yet if God will pleaſe to bring you, and make it a paſſage to that happineſs, welcome Lord. And I doubt not but God will give you an heart to taſte ſome ſweetneſs and love in this bitter Potion. and to ſee ſomething of mercy and goodneſs to you, and ſhew you ſome ſign and token of Good, ſo that your ſoul may ſee that which we have had already experience of (bleſſed be God for it) many experiences, many expreſſions, not onely in words, nor tears; God hath not left us without much comfort and evidence, and I hope (my Lord) You that have given ſo many Evidences to us, I hope You want none your ſelf, but that the Lord will be pleaſed to ſupport You, and bear up Your Spirit, and if there want evidence; there is reliance, my ſecurity lies not in my knowing that I ſhall come to Heaven, and come to Glory, but my reſting and relying upon him; when the Author of Faith is thrown out, there may be ſhakings and toſſing, but there is ſafety; nothing ſhall interrupt ſafety, although ſomething may interrupt ſecurity: my ſafety is ſure, although I apprend it not: and what if I go to God in the dark? What if I come to him, as Nicodemus did, ſtaggering in the night? It is a night of trouble, a night of darkneſs, though I come trembling and ſtaggering in this night, yet I ſhall be ſure to find comfort and fix-

edneſs

ednes in him. And the Lord of Heaven *be the ſtrength, ſtay and ſupport of Your ſoul, and the Lord furniſh You with all thoſe graces which may carry you into the boſom of the Lord Jeſus that when You expire this life, You may be able to expire it into him, in whom You may begin to live to all* Eternity; *and that is my humble Prayer.*

Holland. M. *Bolton*, God hath given me long time in this world; he hath carried me through many great accidents of Fortune, he hath at laſt brought me down into a condition, where I finde my ſelf brought to an end, for a diſ-affection to this State, to this Parliament, that (as I ſaid before) I did believe no body in the world more unlikely to have expected to ſuffer for that cauſe, I look upon it as a great judgement of God for my ſins. And truely, Sir, ſince that the death is violent, I am the leſs troubled with it, becauſe of thoſe violent deaths that I have ſeen before; principally my Saviour, that hath ſhewed us the way, how and in what manner he hath done it, and for what cauſe. I am the more comforted, I am the more rejoyced. It is not long ſince the King my maſter paſſed in the ſame manner; and truely I hope that his purpoſes and intentions were ſuch, as a man may not be aſhamed not onely to follow him in the way that was taken with him but likewiſe not aſhamed of his purpoſes, if God had given him life. I have often diſputed with him concerning many things of this kinde, and I conceive his ſufferings, and his better knowledge, and better underſtanding (if God had ſpared him life) might have made him a Prince very happy towards himſelf, and very happy towards this Kingdom. I have ſeen and known that thoſe bleſſed ſouls in heaven have paſſed thither by the gate of ſorrow, and many by the gate of violence; and ſince it is Gods pleaſure to diſpoſe of me this way, I ſubmit my ſoul to him, with all comfort, and that with all hope, that he hath made this my end, and this conſolution, that though I be low in death, yet nevertheleſs this lowneſs ſhall raiſe me to the higheſt glory for ever.

Truly, I have not said much in publick to the people, concerning the peculiar Actions that I conceive I have done by my counsels in this Kingdom, I conceive they are well known, it were something of vanity (me thinks) to take notice of them here: I le rather die with them, with the comfort of them in my own bosome, and that I never intended in this action, or any action that ever I did in my life, either malice or bloodshed, or prejudice to any creature that lives. For that concerns my Religion, I made my profession before of it, how I was bred, and in what manner I was bred, in a Family that was looked upon to be no little notorious in opposition to some liberties they had conceived them to be taken; and truly, there was some mark upon me, as if I had some taint of it, even throughout my whole ways that I have taken: every body knows what my affections have been to many that have suffered, to many that have been in troubles in this Kingdom, I endeavoured to relieve them, I endeavoured to oblige them, I thought I was tyed so by my Conscience, I thought it by my charity, and truly, very much by my Breeding; God hath now brought me to the last instant of my time, all that I can say, and all that I can adhere unto is this; That as I am a great sinner, so I have a great Saviour; that as he hath given me here a fortune to come publickly in a shew of shame in the way of this suffering (truely I understand it not to be so) I understand it to be a glory, when I consider who hath gone before me, and a glory when I consider I had no end in it but what I conceive to be the service of God, the King and the kingdom, and therefore my heart is not charged much with any thing in that particular, since I conceive God will accept of the intention, whatsoever the action seems to be. I am going to die, and the Lord receive my Soul; I have no relyance but upon Christ: for my self, I do acknowledge that I am the unworthiest of sinners; my life hath been a vanity, and a continued sin, and God may justly bring me to this end, for the sins I have committed against him, and were there nothing else but the iniquities that I have com-

committed in the Way of my Life, I looke upon this as a great Juſtice of God, to bring me to this Suffering, and to bring me to this puniſhment; And thoſe Hands that have been active in it, if any ſuch there hath been; I pray God forgive them; I pray God that there may not be many ſuch Trophies of their Victories, but that this may be (as I ſaid b fore) the laſt Shew, that this People ſhall ſee of the Blood of Perſons of Condition, of Perſons of Honour: I might ſay ſomething of the way of our Tryal, which certainly hath been as extraordinary, as any thing I think hath ever been ſeen in this Kingdom, but becauſe that I would not ſeem as if I made ſome complaint, I will not ſo much as mention it, becauſe no body ſhall believe I repine at their actions, that I repine at my Fortune; it is the will of God, it is the hand of God by whom I fall; I take it entirely from him, I ſubmit my ſelf to him, I deſire to rowl my ſelf into the Arms of my bleſſed Saviour; when I come to this place, when I bow down my ſelf there, I hope God will raiſe me up; and when I bid farewel, as I muſt now to Hope and to Faith, that Love will abide; I know now nothing to accompany the ſoul out of this World, but Love; and I hope that Love will bring me to the Fountain of Glory in Heaven, through the Arms Meditation, and the Mercy of my Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, in whom I believe, O Lord help my Unbelief.

*Pointing to the Block.

Hodges. The Lord make over unto You The righteouſneſs of his own Son, it is that Treaſury that he hath beſtowed upon You; and the Lord ſhew You the Light of his Countenance, and fill You full with his joy and kindneſs. O my dear Lord, the Lord of Heaven and Earth be with You, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth bring You to that Safety.

Holland. I ſhall make as much haſt as I can to come to that glory, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth take my ſoul; I looke upon my ſelf entirely in Him, and hope to find mercy through Him, I expect it, and through that Fountain that is opened for Sin and for

n cleanneſs, my ſoul muſt receive it, for did I reſt in any thing elſe I have nothing but ſin and corruption in me; I have nothing but that, which in ſtead of being carried up into the Arms of God, and of Glory, I have nothing but may throw me down into Hell,

Bolton. But my Lord, when you are cloathed with the righteouſneſſe of another, you will appear glorious, though now ſinful in your ſelf: The Apoſtle ſaith, I *deſire not to be found in my own righteouſneſs*, and when you are cloathed with another, the Lord will own you, and I ſhall ſay but thus much: Doubt not that ever God will deny ſalvation to ſinners, that come to him, when the end of all his death and ſufferings was the ſalvation of ſinners; when as I ſay the whole end, and the whole deſign, and the great work that God had to do in the world, by the death of Chriſt, wherein he laid out all his counſells, and infinite wiſdom and mercy, and goodneſſe, beyond which there was a *Non ultra* in Gods thoughts, when this was the great deſign, and great end, the ſalvation of poor ſinners, that poor ſouls ſhould come over to him and live; certainly when ſinners come he will not reject, he will not refuſe. And, my Lord, do but think of this, the greateſt work that ever was done in the world, was the blood of Chriſt that was ſhed, never any thing like it: And this blood of Chriſt that was ſhed, was ſhed for them that come, if not for them, for none, it was in vain elſe: You ſee the Devils they are out of capacity of good by it, the Angels they have no need of it, wicked men will not come, and there are but a few that come over, but a few that come over, and ſhould he deny them, there were no end nor fruit of the blood and ſufferings of the Lord Jeſus: and had your Lordſhip been with Chriſt in that bloody agony, when he was in that bloody ſweat, ſweating drops of blood, if you had asked him, Lord, what art thou now a doing, art thou not now reconciling an angry God, and me together

together, art thou not pacifying the wrath of God? or thou not interposing thy self between the justice of God and my soul: Would see not have said, yea? and surely then he will not deny it now. My Lord, his Passions are over, his Compassions still remain, and the larger and greater, because he is gone up into an higher place that he may throw down more abundance of his mercy and grace upon you; and, my Lord; think of that infinite love, that abundance of riches in Christ: I am lost; I am empty, I have nothing, I am poor, I am sinfull; be it so; as bad as God will make me: and as vile as I possibly can conceive my self, I am willing to be: but when I have said all; the more I advance then riches; and honour that grace of God and why should I doubt when by this he puts me into a capacity, into a disposition for him to shew me mercy. that by this I may the better advance the riches of his grace, and say Grace, grace to the Lord to all eternity, that God should own such a Creature that deserves nothing; and the less I deserve, the more conspicuous is his grace: And this is certain, the riches of his grace he throweth amongst men, that the glory of his grace might be given to himself, if we can give him but the glory of his grace, we shall never doubt to partake of the riches of it; and that fulness, My Lord, that fulness be your comfort, that fulness of Mercy, that fulness of Love, that fulness of Righteousness and power to be now your riches, and your onely stay and the Lord interpose himself between God and you as your Faith hath endeavoured to interpose him between God and your soul: so I doubt not there he stand (my Lord) to plead for you, and when you are not able to do any thing your self; yet lie down at the feet of him that is a merciful Saviour, and knowes what you would desire, and wait upon him while you livest trust in him when you die, there is riches enough, and mercy enough, if he open not, yet die at his door, say there I'le die; there is mercy enough.

Holland

Holland And here is the place whetein Ile lye down before him from whence I hope he will raiſe me to an eternal glory through my Saviour, upon whom I rely, from whom only I can expect mercy; into his arms I commend my ſpirit, into his bleeding arms, that when I leave this bleeding body that muſt lye upon this place, he will receive that ſoul that ariſeth out of it, and receive it into his eternall mercy, through the merits, through the worthineſs, through the Mediation of Chriſt that hath purchaſed it with his own precious blood.

Bolton. My *Lord, though you conclude here, I hope you begin above, and though you put an end here, I hope there will never be an end of the mercy and goodneſſe of God: and if this be the morning of eternity, if this be the riſe of Glory, if God pleaſeth to throw you down here, to raiſe you up for ever, ſay, Welcome* Lord, *welcome that death that ſhall make way for life. and welcome any condition that ſhall throw me down here to bring me into the poſſeſſion of Jeſus Chriſt.*

Hodges. My *Lord, if you have made a deed of gift of your ſelf to Jeſus Chriſt, to be found onely in him; I am confident you ſhall ſtand at the day of Chriſt, my dear Lord, we ſhall meet in happineſſe.*

Holland. Chriſt Jeſus receive my ſoul, my ſoul hungers and thirſts after him. Clouds are gathering, and I truſt in God through all my heavineſſe, and I hope through all impediments he will ſettle my intereſt in him, and throw off all the claim that Satan can make unto it, and that he will carry my ſoul in deſpight of all calumnies, and all that the Devill and Satan can invent, will carry it into Eternal mercy, there to receive the bleſſednеſſe of his preſence to all Eternity.

Hodges

Hodges *My Lord it was his by Creation, it is his own by redemption and purchase; it is likewise his own by resignation; O my Lord look therefore to the Lamb of God that sits at the right hand of God to take away the sins of the World, O that lamb of God!*

Holland. That Lamb of God, into his hands I commit my soul: and that Lamb of God, that sits upon the Throne to judge that 24. that fall down before him, I hope he will be pleased to look downward, and judge me with mercy that fall down before him, and that adore him, that only trusts upon his Mercy and compassion; and that as he hath purchased me, he would lay his claim unto me now, and receive me.

Bolton. *My Lord think of this,* there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ; who is it that can condemn? it is Christ that justifies: *And therefore look upon this (My Lord) upon this Christ that justifies:* Hell, Death, Sin, Satan; *nothing shall be able to condemn,* it is Christ that justifies you.

Holland Indeed if Christ justify, no body can condemn, and I trust in God, in his justification, though there is a confusion here without us, and though there are wonders and stirring that now disquiet, yet I trust that I shall be carried into that mercy, that God will receive my soul.

Bolton. *I doubt not my Lord, but as you are a Spectatle of pity here, so you are an object of Gods mercy above.*

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* looking over among the people, pointing to a Souldier, said, This honest man took me a prisoner, you little thought I should have been brought to this, when I delivered my self to you upon conditions; and espying Captain *Watson* on horse-back, putting off his hat said to him, God bee with you Sir, God reward you Sir.

Bolton. My Lord, throw your selfe into the arms of mercy, and say, there I will Anchour, and there I will dye, he is a Saviour for us in all conditions, whither shall we go? he hath the words of Eternall life: and upon him do you rest, wait while you live and ever trust in death.

Holland. Here must now be my Anchour, a great Storm makes me find my Anchour: and but in storms no body trusts to his Anchour; and therefore I must trust upon my Anchor (upon that God, said Mr. *Bolton*, upon whom your Anchour trusts) yea, God I hope, will Anchour my soul fast upon Christ Jesus; and if I dye not with that clearnesse and that heartinesse that you speak of, truly, I will trust in God though he kill me, I will rely upon him, and in the mercy of my Saviour.

Bolton. There is mercy enough, my Lord, and to spare, you shall not need to doubt: they shall never go a begging to another door (my Lord) that come to him. Then the Earl of *Holland* speaking to Mr. *Hodges*, said, I pray God reward you for all your kindnesse, and pray as you have done, instruct my Family, that they may serve God with faithfulnesse and holinesse, with more diligence, then truly I have been carefull to presse them unto; you have the charge of the same place, you may do much for them, and I recommend them to your kindnesse, and the goodnesse of your Conscience.

Dr. *Sibbald* standing upon the Scaffold, in his passage to Colonell *Beecher* expressed himselfe thus to his Lordship.

Dr. Sibbald. *The Lord lift up the Light of his Countenance upon you and you shall be safe.*

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* embraced Lieutenant Colonell *Beecher*, and took his leave of him: After which he came to Mr. *Bolton*, and having embraced him, and returned him many thanks for his great paines and affections to his soul, desiring God to reward him, and return his love into his bosome. Mr. *Bolton* said to him, The Lord God support you, and be

seen

een in this great extremity; the Lord reveal and discover himself to you; and make your death the passage unto Eternal life---

Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner said, here, my friend let my cloaths and my body alone, there is 10. pounds for thee, that is better then my cloaths I am sure of it.

Execut. Will your Lordship be pleased to give me a Sign when I shall strike? And when his Lordship, said, you have roome enough here, have you not? and the Executioner said, Yes.

Bolton, The Lord be your strength, there is Riches in him; The Lord of Heaven impart himself to you he is able to save to the uttermost; We cannot fall so low as to fall below the everlasting arms of God; and therefore the Lord be a support and stay to you in your low condition, that he will be pleased to make this an advantage to that life and glory that will make amends for all.

Holland Then the Earl of Holland turning to the Executioner, said Friend, do you hear me if you take up my head, do not take off my Cap. Then turning to his Servants, he said to one, Fare you well, thou art an honest fellow; and to another, God be with thee, thou art an honest fellow: and then said stay, I will kneel down, and ask God forgivenesse, and then prayed for a pretty space with seeming earnestnesse.

Bolton, *The Lord grant you may find life in death.*

Holland VVhich is the way of lying? (which they shewed him) & then going to the front of the Scaffold, he said to the People, God bless you all, and God deliver you from any such accident as may bring you to any death is violent, either by VVar or by these accidents, but that there may be peace among you, and you may find that these accidents that have hapned to us, may be the last that may happen in this Kingdom: it is that I desire, that I beg of God next the saving of my soul: I pray God give all happinesse to this Kindom, to this people and this Nation: and then turning to the Executioner, said, how must I lye? I know not.

Execu-

Execu. *Lye down flat upon your belly: and then having laid himself down, he said must I lye closer?*

Execu. *Yes, and backwarder.*

Holland. I will tell you when you shall strike: and then as he lay, seemed to pray with much affection for a short space. and then lifting up his head, said where is the man? and seeing the Executioner by him, he said stay while I give the sign; and presently after stretching out his hand, and the Executioner being not fully ready, he said, now, now, and iust as the words were comming out of his mouth: the Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.

Here followeth the SPEECH of *Arthur* Lord *Capell*, at his Execution on the *Scaffold*.

Henry

Arthur Lord Capell *having ſerved the King throughout the War, upon my Lord* Hoptons *Articles in* Cornwall, *comes home to his Houſe in* Hertfordſhire; *upon the joyning of the* Kentiſh *and* Eſſex *Forces, upon the account of reſtoring the King; meets them at* Colcheſter; *where, upon the Delivery of that Town, hee had Quarter for life promiſed by the Generall, notwithſtanding, which he is Sentenced by the H. C. of Juſtice, and is beheaded in the Pallace-Yard* VVeſtminſter, *March* 9, 1648.

THis Noble Lord had deſerved ſo well of the King and Kingdome by his conſtant Loyalty, to the endangering his life, and a very large Eſtate; that he could not but merit ill at the hands of thoſe bloudy Rebells, who without ſcruple or conſideration condemned all that for that glorious Cauſe had fell into their clutches.

But

But more especially did they revenge themselves upon this personage, because he had been privy Counsellour to the Prince then King our now Soveraign: that they might wreak their fury upon some of his nearest Ministers, he being himself out of their reach. This Lord had endeavoured to escape, but by his too easie confidence, discoursing with a Waterman that carried him over the Thames, was betrayed and taken by him at *Lambeth*. The Fellow yet survives to the shame, spight and sorrow of himself, and the hatred and detestation of all men. My Lord at his Tryall made a gallant Defence, pretending the Law and Protection of the Sword given him at *Colchester*: after hee found he could not have the benefit of the Law of the Land (to wit) His Tryall by his Peers, which hee stoutly and peremptorily insisted on, to the refuting and baffling of the pretended jurisdiction and authority of their High Court. But the Generall waving his Engagement for the one, and the High Court maintaining the other, *viz.* Their power of trial, he was at length sentenced there to be beheaded, which accordingly was executed at the same place and time as before, where he spake this plain resolute English speech as followeth, *&c.*

Arthur

Arthur Lord *Capell*, his Speech on the Scaffold immediately before his death, *March* the 9. 1649.

The Execution of the Lord of Holland *being thus performed, the* Lord Capell *was brought to the Scaffold, he put off his Hat to the people on both ſides, looking very auſterely about him, and being come upon the Scaffold, Lieut, Col.* Beecher *ſaid to him* Is your Chaplain here?

Capell. No, I have taken my leave of him: and perceiving ſome of his ſervants to weep, he ſaid, Gentlemen, refrain your ſelves, refrain your ſelves; and turning to Lieut. Col, *Beecher*, he ſaid, what? did the Lords ſpeak with their hats off, or no?

Col. Beech. *With their hats off: and then coming to the front of the Scaffold, he ſaid, I ſhall hardly be underſtood here I think, and then began his Speech as followeth.*

The right Honourable
Arthur Lord Capell etc:

The Grenville Library

Capel. The concluſion that I made with thoſe that ſent me hither, and are the cauſe of this violent death of mine ſhall be the beginning of what I ſhall ſay to you: When I made an addreſs to them (which was the laſt) told them with much ſincerity; that I would pray to the God of all mercies that they might be partakers of his ineſtimable and boundles mercies in Jeſus Chriſt; and truly I ſtill pray that prayer, and I beſeech the God of Heaven forgive any injury they have done to me, from my ſoul I wiſh it. And truly, this I tell you as a Chriſtian, to let you ſee I am a Chriſtian. But it is neceſſary I ſhould tell you ſomewhat more, that I am a Proteſtant? And truly, I am a Proteſtant, and very very much in love with the profeſſion of it; after the manner as is was eſtabliſhed in *England* by the thirty nine Articles, a bleſſed way of profeſſion, and ſuch an one as truly; I never knew none ſo good. I am ſo far from being a Papiſt, which ſome body have (truely) very unworthily at ſome time charged me withall, that truely, I profeſs to you, though I love good works, and commend good works, yet I hold they have nothing to at all to do in the matter of ſalvation, my Anchor-hold is this; *That Chriſt loved me, and gave himſelf for me*; that is that I reſt upon,

And truly ſomething I ſhall ſay to you as a Citizen of the whole world, and in that conſideration I am here condemned to die, truly contrary to the Law that governs all the whole World, that is, the Law of the Sword: I had the protection of that for my life, and the honour of it; but truely, I will not trouble you much with that, becauſe in another place I have ſpoken verie largely and liberally about it, I believe you will hear by other means what Arguments I uſed in that caſe: But truly; that, that is ſtranger, you that are Engliſh-men, behold here an Engliſh man here before you, and acknowledged a Peer, not condemned to die by any Law of *England* not by any Law of *England*; nay ſhall I tell you more; (which is ſtrongeſt of all) contrary to all the Lawes of *England* that I know of; And truly I will tell you. in the matter of the civill part of my death, and the cauſe

that I have maintained, I die (I take it for maintaining the fifth Commandement, injoyned by God himself, which enjoyns reverence and obedience to Parents: All Divines on all hands, though they contradict one another in many several opinions, yet all Divines on all hands do acknowledge, that here is intended *Magistracy* and Order; and certainly I have obeyed that Magistracy and that Order under which I have lived, which I was bound to obey: and truly, I do say very confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obeying that fifth Commandement given by God himself, and written with his own finger. And now, Gentlemen, I will take this opportunity to tell you, That I cannot imitate a better, nor a greater ingenuity then his, that said of himself, *For suffering an unjust judgement upon another, himself was brought to suffer by an unjust judgement.* Truly, Gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all men that are concerned in it may take the occasion of it, of humble repentance to God Almighty for it, I do here protest to you, that I did give my Vote to that Bill against the Earl of *Strafford*; I doubt not but God Almighty hath washed that away with a more precious bloud, the bloud of his own Son, and my dear Saviour Jesus Christ; and I hope he will wash it away from all those that are guilty of it: truly this I may say, I had not the least part nor degree of malice in doing of it; but I must confess again to Gods glory, and the accusation of mine own frailty, and the frailty of my Nature, that truly it was unworthy Cowardize, not to resist so great a torment as carried that business at that time. And truly, this I think I am most guilty of, of not courage enough in it, but malice I had none; but whatsoever it was, GOD I am sure hath pardoned it, hath given me the assurance of it, that Christ Jesus his bloud hath washed it away; and truly, I do from my Soul wish, that all men that have any stain by it, may seriously repent, and receive a remission and pardon from God for it. And now Gentlemen, we have had an occasion by this intimation to remember his Majesty, our KING

that

that last was; and I cannot speak of him, nor think of it, but truly, I must needs say, that in my opinion, that have had time to consider all the images of all the greatest and vertuousest Princes in the world: and truly, in my opinion, there was not a more vertuous, and a more sufficient Prince known in the World, then our gracious King CHARLES that died last: God Almighty preserve our King that now is, his Son; God send him more fortunate and longer dayes: God Almighty to resist him, that he may exceed both the vertues and sufficiences of his Father: For certainly, I that have been a Councellour to him, and have liv'd long with him, and in a time when discovery is easily enough made for he was young (he was about thirteen fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen years of age) those years I was with him, truly, I never saw greater hopes of vertue in any young person then in him; great, judgement, great understanding, great apprehension, much honour in his nature, and truly a very perfect Englishman in his inclination; and I pray God restore him to this Kingdom, and unite the Kingdoms one unto another, and send a great happiness both to you and to him, that he may long live and Reign among you, and that that Family may Reign till thy Kingdom come, that is, while all temporal power is consumed: I beseech God of his mercy give much happiness to this your King, and to you that in it shall be his Subjects by the grace of Jesus Christ.

Truly I like my beginning so well, that I will make my conclusion with it that is, That God Almighty would confer, of his infinite and inestimable grace and mercy, to those that are the causers of my coming hither, and I pray God give them as much mercy as their hearts can wish; and truely, for my part, I will not accuse any one of them of malice, truely I will not say, I will not think there was any malice in them: what other ends there is, I know not, nor will I examine; but let it be what it will, from my very soul I forgive them every one. And so the Lord of Heaven blesse you all, God Almighty be infinite in goodnesse and mercy to you, and direct you

in thoſe waies of obedience to his commands, to his Majeſtie, that this Kingdom may be an happy and glorious Nation again, and that your King may be an happy King in ſo good and ſo obedient people. God Almighty keep you all, God Almighty preſerve this Kingdom, God Almighty preſerve you all.

Then turning about, and looking for the Executiner, (who was gone of the Scaffold) ſaid which is the Gentleman? which is the man; Anſwer was made, he is coming; He then ſaid, Stay, I muſt pull of my Doubet firſt, and my waſtcoat; and then the Executioner being come upon the Scaffold, the Lord *Capel* ſaid, O friend I prethee come hither: Then the Executioner kneeling down, the Lord *Capel* ſaid, I forgive thee from my ſoul, and not onely forgive thee, but I ſhall pray to God to give thee all grace for a better life: There is five pounds for thee; and truly, for my clothes and thoſe things, if there be any thing due to you for it, you ſhall be fully rerompenced: but I deſire my bodie may not be ſtripped here, and no body to take notice of my bodie but my own ſervants Look you friends this I ſhall deſire of you, that when I lie down, you would give me a time for a particular ſhort prayer.

Lieu Col. Beecher, *Make your own ſign my Lord.*

Capel. Stay a little; Which ſide do you ſtand upon? (ſpeaking to the Executioner;) Stay, I think I ſhould lay my hands forward that way (*pointing fore-right*) and anſwer being made, Yes; he ſtood ſtill a little while, and then ſaid, God Almighty bleſs all this people, God Almighty ſtench this blood, God Almighty ſtench, ſtench, ſtench this iſſue of blood: this will not do the buſineſſe God Almightie finde out another way to do it. And then turning to one of his ſervants, ſaid, *Baldwin*, I cannot ſee any thing that belongs to my wife: but I muſt deſire thee and beſeech her to reſt wholly upon Jeſus Chriſt to be contented and fully ſatisfied: & then ſpeaking to his ſervants, he ſaid, God keep you, and Gentlemen, let me now do a buſineſs quicklie, privatelie, and pray let me have your prayers at the moment of death, that God would receive my ſoul.

L. *Col,*

L. *Col.* Beecher *I wish it.*

Capel. Pray at the moment of striking joyn your prayers, but make no noise (turning to his servants) it is inconvenient at this time.

Servant. *My Lord put on your cap,*

Capel, Should I, what will that do me good? Stay a little, it is well as it is now. *As he was putting up his hair,* And then turning to the Executioner, he said, honest man I have forgiven thee therefore strike boldly; from my soul do it.

Then a Gentleman speaking to him he said, Nay prethee be contented be quiet, good Mr.——— be quiet.

Then turning to Executioner, he said, VVell, you are ready when I am ready, are you not: and stretching out his hands, he said, Then pray stand off Gentlemen, Then going to the front of the Scaffold, he said to the People, Gentlemen, though I doubt not of it, yet I think it convenient to aske it of you, That you would all joyn in prayers with me, That God would mercifully receive my soul, and that for his alone mercies in Christ Jesus God almighty keep you all.

Execut. *My Lord shall I put up your haire;*

Capel, I, I, prethee do; and then as he stood, lifting up his hands and eyes, he said, O God, I do with a perfect and a willing heart submit to thy will: O God I do most willingly humble, my self: and then kneeling down, said, I will try first how I can lye; and laying his head over the block, said, Am I well now;

Execut. *Yes.*

And then as lay with both his hands stretched out, he said to the Executioner, Here lie both my hands, and when I lift up my hands thus (*lifting up his right hand*) then you may strike

And then after he had said a short prayer he lifted up his right hand, and the Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body; which was taken up by his servants, and put (with his body) into a coffin as the former.

A Relation, together, with the Speech of Col. John Morris, *lately Governour of* Pomfret *Caſtle, at the place of his Execution at* York, *Aug.* 23. 1649.

WHen he was brought out of priſon, looking upon the Sledge that was there ſet for him, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, knocking upon his breaſt, he ſaid, I am as willing to go to my death, as to put off my doublet to go to bed I deſpiſe the ſhame as well as the Croſs, I know I am going to a joyful place: with many like expreſſions.

When the Poſt met him about St. *James* Church, that was ſent to the Parliament to mediate for a reprive; and told him he could not prevail in it, he ſaid, Sir, I pray God reward you for your pains, I hope and am well aſſured to find a better pardon then any they can give, my hope is not in man, but in the living God.

At the place of Execution, he made his profeſſion of his faith, his breeding, his cauſe he had fought in.

Gentlemen, firſt I was bred up in the true Proteſtant Religion, having my education and breeding from that honoured houſe my Dear Lord and Maſter *Strafford*, which place I dare boldly ſay, was as well governed and rul'd as ever any yet, was before it, I much doubt, better then any will be after it; unleſs it pleaſe God to put a period to theſe diſtracted times: this Faith and Religion, I ſay, I have been bred in, and I thank God I have hitherto lived in, without the leaſt wavering, and now I am reſolved by Gods aſſiſtance to die in.

Thoſe pains are nothing, if compared to thoſe dolours and pains which Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour hath

ſuffered

ſuffered for us; when in a bloudy ſweat he endured the wrath of God, the pain of hell, and the curſed and ſhameful death which was due to our ſins, therefore I praiſe the Lord that I am not plagued with far more grievous puniſhment, that the like hath befallen others, who undoubtedly are moſt glorious and bleſſed Saints with Chriſt in heaven: It is the Lords affliction, and who will not take any affliction in good part when it comes from the hand of God? and what? ſhall we receive good from the hands of God, and not receive evil; And though I deſire, as I am carnal, that this cup may depart from me, yet not my will, but thy will be done. Death brings unto the godly an end of ſinning, and of all miſeries due unto ſin, ſo that after death there ſhall be no more ſorrow, nor cry, or pain, for *God ſhall wipe away all tears from our eyes*; by death our ſouls ſhall be delivered from thraldom, and this *corruptible body ſhall put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality*.

Therefore bleſſed are they that are delivered out of ſo vile a world, and freed from ſuch a body of bondage and corruption; the ſoul ſhall enjoy immediate Communion with God in everlaſting bliſs and glory; it takes us from the miſeries of this world, and ſociety of ſinners, to the city of the living God, the celeſtial *Ieruſalem*.

I bleſs God I am thought worthy to ſuffer for his Name, and for ſo good a cauſe; and if I had a thouſand lives, I would willingly lay them down for the cauſe of my King, the Lords *Anointed*: the Scripture commands us to fear God and honour the King, to be ſubject to every Ordinance of man for the Lords ſake, whether to the King as ſupream, or to thoſe that are in authority under him: I have been always faithful to my Truſt: and though I have been moſt baſely accuſed for betraying *Leverpool*, yet I take God to witneſs it is a moſt falſe aſperſion, for I was then ſick in my bed, and knew not of the delivering of it, till the Officers and Souldiers had done it without my conſent, and then I was carried priſoner to Sr. *Iohn Meldrum*; afterwards I came down into

the Country, and seeing I could not live quietly at home I was perswaded by Colonel *Forbes*, Colonel *Overton*, Lieut. Col. *Fairfax*, whom I took for my good friends to march in their Troops; which I did, but with intention still to do my King the best service when occasion was and so I did; and I pray God to turn the heart of all Souldiers to their lawfull Soveraign, that this Land may enjoy Peace, which till then it will never do, and though thou kil me, yet wil I put my trust in thee wherefore I trust in God he will not fail me nor forsake me Then he took his Bible, and read divers Psalms fit for his own occasion and consolation, and then put up divers prayers some publiquely and some privately; the publick was this which follows;

His PRAYER.

WElcome blessed hour, the period of my Pilgrimage, the term of my Bondage, *the end of my cares, the close of my sins the bound of my travels the Goal of my race. and the heaven of my hopes; I have fought a long fight in much weaknesse, I have finished my course though in great faintnesse and the Crown of my joys, that through the strength of thy grace, I have both kept the true faith, and have fought for my King; the Lords Anointed's cause without any wavering for which and in which I dye; I do willingly resigne my flesh, I despise the World and I defie the Devill who hath no part nor share in me; and now what is my hope Lord Jesus is even in thee, for I know that thou my Redeemer livest. and that thou wilt immediately receive my soul, and raise up my body also at the last day, and I shall see thee in my flesh with these eyes, and none other; And now, O Lord, let thy Spirit of comfort help mine infirmities, and make supplication for me with sighs and groans that cannot be expressed; I submit my self wholly to thy will, I commit my selfe to thee as my faithfull Redeemer,*

who

who hast bought it with thy most pretious blood. I confesse to all the World, I know no name under Heaven by which I may be saved but thine my Jesu, my Saviour. I renounce all confidence in any merits save thine. I thankfully acknowledge thy blessings, I unfained bewail all my sins, I stedfastly believe all thy promises, I heartily forgive all my Enemies, I willingly leave all my Friends, I utterly loath all earthly comfort, and I entirely long for thy coming. Come Lord Jesus, come quickly; Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.

The private were to himselfe, his hat being before his eyes: he put up divers short ejaculations; As, *I know my Redeemer liveth, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast Redeemed it, O God, thou God of truth, Lord Jesus receive my spirit,* and many of the like, and so he yielded to death.

Here followeth the SPEECH of Cornet *Michael Blackburn* immediately before his death.

The Speech of Cornet Michael Blackburn, immediately before his death, Aug. 23. 1649.

It is expected I should say something, and indeed it is my desire to say something, and but a little.

I Am not a Gentleman by birth, but my Parents are of honest quality and condition, I was brought up in the Protestant Religion, and in that I have lived and in that I now dye. I have some five or six years since engaged in this War, wherein I had no other end or intention but to do my King true and faithful service according to my duty and the dictate of my Conscience I have not done so much service as I desired, but I have always been faithfull to him, and wish I could have done him more: and for his Son the King that now is, I wonder any man of this Kingdome should have the boldnesse or impudence to lift up his hand against him, to keep him from his Crown whereof he is Heir apparent, and as good right and Title to by his birth-right, as any man living hath of his Inheritance or Possession: I *pray God blesse him, forgiv all my enemies; and Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.*

The

The Speech of Col. Euſebius Andrews, *immediately before his Execution on the Scaffold on* Tower-Hill, *on Thurſday* Auguſt 22. 1650. *being attended on by* Dr. Swadling.

AS ſoon as he came upon the Scaffold, kiſſing the block he ſaid, I hope there is no more but this block between me and Heaven; and to the *Leiutenant* of the Tower, I hope I ſhall neither tire in my way, nor go out of it. After he had been a good while upon the Scaffold, turning to the rail, he ſpeaks to the people as followeth: Chriſtian *Gentlemen and People*, Your buſineſſe hither to day is to ſee a ſad ſpectacle, a man to be in a moment unnamed and cut off in the prime of his years, taken from further opportunities of doing good either unto himſelf, his friends, the *Common-Wealth*, or eſpecially to God; it ſeldome happens but upon very good cauſe. and though truly, if my generall known courſe of life were but enquired into, I may modeſtly ſay there is ſuch a moral honeſty upon it, as ſome may be ſo ſawcy as to expoſtulate why this great judgement is fallen upon me: but know, I am able to give them and my ſelf an anſwer, and out of this breaſt am able to give a better account of my judgement and Execution then my *Judges* themſelves or you are able to give; It is Gods wrath upon me for ſins long unrepented of, many Judgements withſtood, and mercies ſleighted: therefore God hath whipped me by his ſevere rod of correction, that he might not loſe me; I pray join with me in prayer, that it may not be a fruitleſs rod, that when by this rod I have laid down my life, by this ſtaffe I may be comforted, and received into glory. I am very confident by what I have heard ſince my ſentence, there

is

is more exception made against proceedings against me then ever I made. My tryers had a Law, and the value of that Law is indisputable, and for me to make a question of it, I should shame my self and my discretion. In the strictnesse of that Law something is done by me that is applicable to some clause therein, by which I stand condemnable: the means whereby I was brought under that interpretation of that which was not in my self intended maliciously, being testimony given (by persons whom I pity) so false, yet so positive that I cannot condemn my Judges for passing sentence against me according to Legall justice, for equity lyeth in high-breasts.

As for my accusers, or rather betrayers, I pity, and am sorrie for them, they have committed *Judas* his crime but I wish and pray for them *Peters* tears, that by *Peters* repentance they may escape *Judas* his punishment, and I wish other people so happie; they may be taken up betimes before they have drunk up more blood of Christian men possibly then my self.

It is true there haue been severall Addresses made for mercy, and I will put the obstruction of it upon nothing more then upon my one sin, & seeing God sees it fit (having not glorified him in my life) I might do it in my death; which I am contented to do. I profess in the face of God particular malice to any one of State or Parliament to do them a bodily injury I had none.

For the Cause in which I had long waded, I must needs say my engagement or continuance in it hath laid no scruple upon my conscience; it was in principles of Law, the knowledge whereof I profesle, and and on principles of Religion, my Judgement satisfied, and conscience rectfied, that I have pursued those ways which I blesse God I find no blackneſse upon my Conscience nor have I put into my bed-roll of my sins.

I will not presume to decide such controversies; I desire God to honour himselfe in prospering that side that hath right with it, and that you may enjoy peace and plenty, when I shal enjoy peace and plenty, beyond

all

yond all proceſſe here: in my converſation in the world I do not know where I have an enemie with cauſe, or that there is ſuch a perſon with whom I have to regret; but if there be any whom I cannot collect under the notion of Chriſtian men, I pardon them, as freely at if I had named them by name. I freely forgive them being in free peace with all the World, as I deſire God for Chriſts ſake to be at peace with me. For the buſineſſe of death, it is a ſad ſentence in it ſelf, if men conſult with fleſh and blood; But truly without boaſting, I ſay it, or if I do boaſt, I boaſt in the Lord, I have not to this minute had one conſultation with the fleſh about the bloud of the *Axe*, or one thought of the *Axe*, more then as my paſs port to *Glory*.

I take it for an honour, and I owe thankfulneſſe to thoſe under whoſe power I am, that they have ſent me hither to a place however of puniſhment, yet of ſome honour to die a death, ſomewhat worthy of my blood, anſwerable to my birth and qualification, and this courteſie of theirs much helped towards the pacification of my mind.

I ſhall deſire God that thoſe *Gentlemen* in that ſad beadrol to be tried by the High Court of *Juſtice*; that they may find that really there that is nominal in the Actian High Court of *Juſtice*, a Court of high *Juſtice*, high in its righteouſneſs, though not in its ſeverity, *Father forgive them, and forgive me as I forgive them.*

I deſire you now that you would pray for me, and not give over praying till the hour of death, not till the moment of death for the hour is come already; that as I have a great load of ſins, ſo I may have the wings of your prayers to help thoſe *Angels* that are to convey my ſoul to *Heaven*, and I doubt not, but I ſhall ſee my Saviour, my gallant Maſter the King of *England*, and another *Mr.* whom I much honoured: my Lord *Capel*, hoping this day to ſee my *Chriſt* in the preſence of of the *Father*, the *King* in the preſence of him, my Lord *Capel* in the preſence of them all; and my ſelf there to rejoyce with all other *Saints* and *Angels* for evermore.

Dr. *Swadling*, (he being upon the Scaffold) spake as followeth to the *Colonell*.

You have this morning in the presence of a few, given some account of your Religion, and under general notions or words, have given an account of your faith; charity and repentance.

To those on the Scaffold; If you please to hear the same questions asked here, you shall, that it may be a generall testimony to you all, that he dyed in the favour of God.

To the Colonell. Now Sir, I being to deal with you; do you acknowledge that this stroke you are to suffer is a just punishment laid upon you by God for your former sins?

Col. I dare not only not deny it, but dare not but confesse it, I have no opportunity of glorifying God anie more, then by taking shame upon my self, and I have a reason of the Justice of God in my own bosome, which I have put to your bosome.

Dr. You acknowledge that you deserve more then this stroke of the *Axe*, and that a far greater misery is due to you, even the pains and torments of hell that the damned there endure?

Col. I know it is due in righteous Judgement, but I know again, I have a satisfaction made by my elder brother *Iesus Christ*, and then I say it is not due, 'tis due from me, but quietted by his Righteousnesse.

Dr. Do you believe to be saved by that Mediator and none other?

Col. By that and only that, renouncing all secondarie causes whatsoever.

Dr. Are you trulie and unfainedlie sorrie before God, as you appear to us, for all those sins that have brought you hither?

Col. I am sorrie and can never be sorrowfull enough and am sorrie I can be no more sorry.

Dr. If God should by a miracle (not to put you to a vain hope) but if God shoud as he did to *Ezekiah*, renew your daies, what life do you resolve to lead hereafter?

Col.

Col. It is a queſtion of great length, and requires a great time to anſwer. Men in ſuch ſtraits would promiſe great things; but I would firſt call ſome friends to limit how farre I ſhould make a vow that I might not make a raſh one, and to offer the ſacrifice of fools; but a vow I would make, and by Gods help endeavour to keep it.

Dr. Do you wiſh health and happineſſe upon all lawful Authorities and goverment?

Col. I do prize all obedience to lawfull government, and the adventuring againſt them is ſinfull, and I do not juſtifie my ſelfe, what ever my judgement be, for my thus venturing againſt the preſent Governmene; I leave it to God to judge whether it be righteous, if it be, it muſt ſtand.

Dr. Are you now in love and charity with all men? do you freely forgive them?

Col. With all the World freely, and the Lord forgive them, and forgive me, as I freely forgive them.

Dr. You have for ſome late years laid down your gown, and took up the Sword, and you were a man of note in thoſe parts where you had your reſidence. I have nothing to accuſe you for want of diligence in hindering the doing of injuries, yet poſſibly there might be ſome wrong done by your Officers, or thoſe under you to ſome particular men; If you had your Eſtate in your hands, would make reſtitution?

Col. The wrongs themſelves you bring to my mind are not great nor many; ſome things of no great moment, but ſuch as they are, my deſire is to make reſtitution, but have not wherewithal.

Dr. If you had ability, would you likewiſe leave a Legacy of thankfulneſſe to Almighty God, ſomething to his poor Servants; to his lame Members, to his deaf Members, to his dumb Members?

Col. My will hath always been better then my ability that way.

Doctor. Sir, I ſhall trouble you very little further; I thank you for all thoſe Heavenly Colloquies I have enjoyed by being in your companie theſe three daies, and truſie am very ſorry I muſt part with ſo hea-

venly

venly an associate. We have known one another heretofore, but never so Christian like before; I have rather been a Scholar to learn from you, then an instructer: I wish this Stage wherein you are made a spectacle to God, Angels, and the World, may be a School to all above you; for though I will not diminish your sins, nor shall I conceal, nor hypocrize my own, for they are great ones betwixt God and my self, yet I think there is few here have a lighter load upon them then you have, if we consider things well and I only wish them your repentance, and that measure of Faith God hath given you and that measure of courage you have attained from God, and that constant perseverance God hath crowned you with hitherto.

Col. His name be praised.

Here the Doctor prayed with him almost a quarter of an hour, after which, the Col. *turning himself again to the people, spake as followeth.*

One thing more I desire to be clear in. There lieth a common imputation upon the Cavaliers, that they are Papists, and under that name we are made odious to those of the contrary opinion: I am not a Papist, but renounce the *Pope* with all his dependencies when the distractions in RELIGION first sprang up, I might have been thought apt to turn from this Church to the *Roman*, but was utterly unsatisfied in their Doctrine, in point of faith, and very much as to their Discipline. The Religion which I profess, is that which passeth under the name of *Protestant* though that be rather a name of distinction, then properly essentiall to Religion, But the Religion which was found out in the Reformation, purged from all the errours of *Rome* in Reign of *Edward* the 6th. practized in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* and King *Charls*, that blessed Prince deceased, that Religion before it was defaced, I am of, which I take to be Christs Catholick, though not the Roman Catholick Religion: in the profession and practice whereof, I will live and die; that for my Religion. Then he turned himself unto the Executioner, I have no reason to quarrel with thee,

thou

thou art not the hand that throws the ſtone; I am not of ſuch an Eſtate to be liberal, but there is three pound for thee, which is all I have. Now tell me what I lack.

Execut. *Your hair to be turned up.*

Col. Shew me how to fit my ſelf upon the Block.

After which his Doublet being off, and hair turned up, he turned to the people and prayed a good while; before he lay down upon the Block, he ſpake thus unto the people.

There is not one face that looks upon me, though many faces, and perhaps different from me in opinion and practice, but (methinks) hath ſomething of pitty in it, and may that mercy that is in your hearts fall into your boſomes when you have need of it, and may you never find ſuch Blocks of ſin to ſtand in the way of your mercy, as I have met with. I beſeech you joyn with me in prayer.

Then he prayed (leaning on the Scaffold) with an audible voice for about a quarter of an hour; Having done, he had ſome private conference with Dr. *Swadling*; Then taking his leave of his Friends, Sheriffs and acquaintances, ſaluting them with a courteous valediction, he prepared himſelf for the Block, and kneeling down, ſaid, let me try the Block. Which he did: After caſting his eyes up, and fixing them very intentively upon Heaven, he ſaid, when I ſay *Lord Jeſus receive my ſoul*, Executioner do thine Office, then kiſſing the Ax he lay down, and with as much undaunted, yet Chriſtian courage as poſſibly could be in a man, did he expoſe his throat to the fatal Axe, his life to the Executioner, and commended his ſoul into the hands of a merciſull Creator, thorough the meritorious paſſion of a gracious Redeemer; Saying the forementioned words, his head was ſmitten off at one blow.

Dr. Levens *Executed at the Old Exchange in* Cornhill, July 19. 1650.

NOtwithſtanding all thoſe mercileſſe bloody perſecutions, which raged againſt the truly Loyal Proteſtant Subjects, and that every day brought ſome calamitous tydings or other, concerning their Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates,; Yet did not they therefore deſpair, and give over their Hopes and Endeavours of obtaining a deliverance by the Kings and the Subjects Reſtitution. To this purpoſe ſeverall correſpondencies and intelligencies were all along held with the King then preregrinating from one Prince to another: And ſeverall ſums of money (maugre all the diligent care and eſpials of the Rebells, who had by a new pretended Act, declared ſuch practiſes to be Treaſon,) were conſtantly tranſmitted for his Majeſties uſe. Among theſe agents, this Gentleman Dr. *Levens* was one, a Civilian by ſtudy, but during, and after the War, had abandoned the practiſe thereof: though it may alſo be ſaid, that in thoſe illegal Times the practice forſook him, as being no way attempered to thoſe Injuſtices which had invaded all Lawes, and overthrown the Conſtitutions of Church and State) deſcended of an antient Family at *Botley* near *Oxford*, where yet it reſides, having throughout the war faithfully, and in the Field aſſerted his late Majeſties cauſe, was thought fit to be truſted upon the aforeſaid account, to which he was ſo readily from his conſtant affection to the King, and his intereſt, before diſpoſed.

The *Argus* eyes of the Emiſſaries, employed by the Counſell of State, who had corrupted and debauched with great hires, ſome of his Majeſties own party, came to have notice of theſe tranſactions, but yet ſuffered him to proceed therein (having certain knowledge of all his haunts and reſorts, till their Maſters ſhould give order to thoſe Blood-hounds for ſeizure) in expectation of more complices to his Negotiation. But the Doctor had

had ſo prudently and warily managed his buſineſſe, that their Setters could pick out no more then his own unhappy ſelf, to be concerned in the deſign; Whereupon he was immediately apprehended in his Chamber, his Truncks and Papers ſearcht and examined, and ſeverall blank Commiſſions from the King found, which he had order to fill up with ſuch fit Perſons as ſhould engage in the ſervice.

For this alone, though it never proceeded further then deſignment, he was tryed by a Court Martial ſitting at *White-hall*, and there condemned to be Hanged, and accordingly Executed, being carried in a Coach from the Marſhals in the *Mews*, guarded with a Troop of Horſe, the vizarded Executioner ſitting therein with him, to the place aforeſaid, where he with much Chriſtian undauntedneſſe owned his Cauſe and his Suffering for Martyrdom, and reſigned his ſoul to his Redeemer.

Captain Benſon *Executed at* Tyburn; October 7. 1650.

THis Perſons fate was involved with that of Colonel *Euſebius Andrews* before named, though on a different account. He had formerly been a Servant to Sir *John Gell*, who in the beginning of the War preferred him to a command in the Parliament Service, where himſelf was Major Generall in the Counties of *Derby*, *Leiceſter*, *&c.* but upon the new modell of the Army, this Gentleman among other of the *Presbyterian* Commanders under *Eſſex*, was laid aſide, after which time they paſſed under the name of *Reformadoes*, hankering here in Town in expectation of their Arrears, which amounted to great ſums, but received nothing but ſlights and contempts, in requitall of their ſervice, being alſo very much abuſed by the ſtanding Army, whoſe aſpiring Officers ever and anon would pick a Quarrell with their

residence in Town, as if upon some design, interdicting the Parliament to pay them any Arrears, with other daily disgraces during the *Presbyterian* and *Independant* scuffle; But after the Army was Rampant by their march through the City, to which those men under Col. *Massey*, and *Poyntz* had appeared in opposition, they were totally discarded, and never could obtain any consideration (save a dangerous jealousie of them) from their former Masters, and more insolent Comrades.

When the Engines and Emissaries of the Rump Commonwealth were employed to bring in *Cavaliers* and *Presbyterians* into the net which would hold all manner of Fish, *Bernards* that Renegado, of whom we made mention drew in this Captain *Benson*, for so he was stiled, into the generall Confederation he insinuated to him was then on foot against the Tyrannical Commonwealth instigating him into the same Engagement, from those injuries and affronts he and his Party and fellow Officers had sustained from the State. But the design was not so much upon him, as upon his old Master Sir *John Gell*, *Bernards* hoping by his means to have accesse to Sir *John*, and having deceived the Man, with more advantage to delude the Master into this snare and Treacherous Collusion.

Captain *Benson* was quickly wrought upon at the first overture, being promised preferment in the Service, and a speciall respect from the King, if (which they doubted not) the Enterprize should succeed, because of his early appearance in the businesse; that it would be a most meritorious work if he could gain others likewise, especially Sir *John*, which they mainly endeavoured likewise to put upon Collonel *Andrews*.

When these Villains had thus entangled him, and saw there was no hopes of Trepaning Sir *John Gell*, whose Estate and Life they chiefly aimed at, for that great and signal Service he had formerly done them; for the credit of their Plot they resolved to sacrifice him thereto, with Collonel *Andrews*, though they were conscious of this execrable and murderous perfidie, and having no greater persons within their gripes to satiate their bloud thirstynesse

thirſtyneſſe with, then this mean draught, they arraigned him at their *High Court of Juſtice*, and by the ſame evidence that betrayed him, convicted him, and ſentenced him as a Traytor, and accordingly on the 7. of *October* carried him in a Cart to *Tyburn*, where he ſtoutly manifeſted their murderous contrivance againſt him, ſpoke Reſolutely, Loyally, and Chriſtianly, and then Patiently ſuffered his Death; which not long after was in ſome meaſure avenged, Divine Juſtice bringing his accuſer and betrayer to the ſame place, and the ſame end, as hath been before declared in the Relation of the Martyrdome of Collonel *Andrews*.

Mr. Cooper, *Major* Saul, &c. *Murdered at* Holt, Deerham, Downing, *and* Norwich, December 1650.

BUt though they were making of plots themſelves at home, the City of *London* very cautiouſly zealous of their ſpleen againſt it, and ſo unwilling to ſtirr, yet in *Norfolk* an attempt was made for the recovery of the peoples Liberties, and the reſettlement of the King. This county had been all along the War (the Gentry eſpecially who had declared) for His Majeſtie, but were unfortunately ſurprized by the diligence of *Cromwell*, who had the chief command of the Parliaments Forces in thoſe parts, and ever after were awed by imperious and inſolent Committees.

Such another inſurrection had happened a while before the death of the King, in *Norwich*, where they ſeiſed the Magazine and the Committee, when the fire took hold of the powder, and did a great deal of Miſchief; but that tumultuary buſineſſe was quickly quaſht, but ſo, that the memory thereof was yet freſh, and the occaſions thereof more preſſing and urging to another endeavour for their King and Country; For the people

at *Westminster* were grown absolute Tyrants over all mens estates, lives and liberties, which they had manifested sufficiently throughout the Kingdom.

Some of the Gentry therefore, with the Loyal Ministry and others, resume the design, and while the Rump was busied with the Scotch War, to find them work nearer hand; among the chief of these Undertakers was one Mr. *Cooper* a Minister, who about the middle of *October* with a small number of his partakers appeared in Armes, it being concluded, that if the County should unanimously rise, then the Nobility and Gentry thereof would also come in and declare themselves. But upon their comming to *Norwich*, some Factious people first began to make resistance, and then immediately sent underhand for the County Troop, and some Foot from *Yarmouth*, acquainting them with the newes of this sudden Stir, who made all haste to suppresse it, and to seize the Authors and Principals thereof, which after some small opposition overpowring them with numbers, they effected; and amongst other prisoners, took this Mr. *Cooper*, whom they reported to be the ring-leader.

The Rump was very jocund at the story, and forthwith dispatcht a Commission to a Country High Court of Justice, where Judge *Jermyn* was President, being a Native of that County, and so named the chief to try the Royallists, who accordingly came down in *December*, and a Jury being selected and pickt, arraigned them for Rebellion, and levying of War against the Commonwealth; which though they reasonably refuted as being contrary to the Law, yet the said wicked Jury brought them in Guilty, and the bloudy Judges gave sentence of Death, which those Martyrs suffered in several places, justifying their cause, and retorting upon their Enemies the crimes they pretended to punish in them; Exhorting all people not to be scandalized at their cross, for it would prove to their own glory, and the good of the Kingdom: especially Mr. *Cooper*, who finisht his Ministry in a pathetical Vindication of the King and his cause, and then meekly submitted to his Tragical End.

Captain

Captain Brown Bushell *Beheaded on* Tower-hill, March 29. 1651.

THe High Court of Justice was yet in being which had condemned Coll. *Andrewes*, and was now after an adjournment met again in the usual place, and therefore to find them work, and to have further revenge for *Dorislaus* and *Ascham*, their Agents abroad, who were killed in *Holland* and *Spain*, and to terrifie the people into Obedience, they produce this Capt. *Brown Bushell* (whom they had kept in prison from the Year 1648. upon the Armies demand of Justice to be done against Delinquents) at their Barr, where they laid to his charge, the Delivery of *Scarborough* Town and Castle to the Kings Forces in *March* 1643. which was no lesse than 8. years distance, yet their rage and cruelty was so vehement and so unsatisfied, that the bloudie Court condemned him, and having after Sentence given him hopes of a Reptieve, His poor wife (having all along been a great follower of *Peters*, and that Tribe, and most sorrowfully begging his life, but to no purpose) did on a sudden as he was rejoycing at the newes of his promised Deliverance, acquaint him about 3. a clock in the afternoon, that at 6. he was to Die, which they punctually performed; Huddling him to his Execution under the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, not venturing to give notice by any solemn show or preparation thereof, lest the Sea-men, who loved him well, (as being his Employment) should Endeavour his Rescue: He died couragiously and christianly for so short a warning, like the rest of those Martyrs that had run the same race before him, saying, that if he had a thousand lives he would spend them all in the same manner, and is justly reckoned in this Martyrologie.

Mr. Love, *and Mr.* Gibbons, *Executed on* Tower-hill, *Auguſt* 26.

IN theſe two perſons we may read a Lecture of the uncertainty of Mens minds and affections, and of the hidden Decrees of Fate. No men had been more violent againſt the King and his cauſe formerly, then Mr. *Love*; and now we ſhall ſee him moſt inſtrumentally ſerving them both. One would have judged it 6. years before, that it was impoſſible that Mr. *Love* ſhould die for his Soveraign, whoſe Cauſe and his Principles were by himſelf ſaid to be diſtanced as much as Heaven is from Hell.

But let us adore Divine Juſtice, and revere and tremble at his Diſpenſations, thoſe unhappy words ſo unſeaſonably and irreverently ſpoken, do now riſe in judgment againſt him: ſo that that which he ſo far ſeparated in his life, he ſhall joyn and reconcile at his Death, as the only conſiſtency in the world, ſuffering as a moſt Eminent Royalliſt.

But 'twas his former Diſobedience which made Him ſo Famous, his Converſion being ſo notable and every where celebrated, though it was not plenary and to every point. For no doubt the Presbyterian Intereſt was evenly carried on with it, if it went not a pace before: For their Brethren of the Scotch Kirk, being ſhrowdly put to it by *Cromwells* victories there, and the Independents lording it here to the contempt of their Diſcipline, and themſelves the Miniſters, who would have been altogether as great as Biſhops. He to check the danger that ſo nearly threatned both, as well in *England* as *Scotland*, entred into and principally managed a combination with other Presbyterians, (Miniſters and others, who afterward ſuffered long impriſonment) of aſſerting the right of King *Charles* the Second, declaring to him their allegiance, and holding correſpondence with him in *Jerſey*, and at his comming into *Scotland*, and to that purpoſe making over ſome money to Coll. *Maſſey* their confident

Friend

Friend to the promoting of the Design, which was to levy a Force in *Lincolnshire*, and so advance Northward to meet with a party of the Kirks Army under *Ker* and *Straughan*, who should enter by *Carlisle*, and being united hem *Cromwell* in between them, and so destroy the Rumps Army.

But not carrying it with caution and secrecy, it was speedily revealed, but the Conspirators suffered to proceed as far as with convenience they might venture it, and then snapt them; and bringing these two and others to the Bar of the *High Court of Justice*, severall of them recanted and craved pardon, as Mr. *Jenkins*, and one *Potter* an *Apothecary* in *Black Friers*, others remitted to Prison, these two were condemned; and though powerfull intercession was made for Mr. *Love*, yet it could not prevaile, and soon after Executed. Mr. *Love* died couragiously, confessing the King and his Rights, and maintaining the Justice of his late Engagement, against the upstart Common-wealth; *Gibbons* died with a little fear and unwillingnesse, as being sent only to bear Mr. *Love* company. But I shall crave leave to insert the next two Loyal sufferers.

Sir Timothy Featherstonhaugh *and Coll.* Benbow, *the first Beheaded at* Chester, *the other Shot to death at* Shrewsbury, Octob. 1651.

BEhold another pair of Loyal *Heroes*, successive to Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Lisle*, who underwent the same Tragical Fate for their Conscience and Duty to their Prince, and Love to their Country. The first followed the Fortune of the Earl of *Derby*, staying behind with him in *Lancashire*, and was taken at the fight of *Wiggon* by Col. *Lilburn*; The other came a Voluntier to the King at *Worcester*, and being discovered after that

unfortunate

unfortunate Battle, was ſecured in *Shrewſbury*. Both their Funeralls attended the Herſe of the Noble Earl of *Derby*, that ſo great a Perſonage might not go without ſuch (envious) Pomp to his Honourable Grave, whither the implacable hate and malice of the Rebells, mad they had loſt their deſigned prey, their and our Gracious Soveraign, moſt inhumanely and barbarouſly haſtned theſe Loyal Martyrs: of whoſe couragious *Exit* it will be a ſuperfluous labour to ſay any thing, but let them reſt till a glorious Reſurrection.

Mr. Vowell *a Miniſter*, and *Coll.* John Gerrard, *the firſt Hanged at* Charing-Croſſe, *the ſecond Beheaded at* Tower-Hill, July, 1654.

ENGLAND had now changed its Tyrants, but not its Tyranny, for *Oliver* had turned out the Rump, and ſet up himſelf, with the ſtile of *Lord Protector*; wherefore having learnt of them (the Maſters of miſchief) the cruell and execrable method and way of ſecuring himſelf in his Uſurpation; with the Fox the finder, ſtarts a Plot of his own contrivance, and having inveagled a Mad Man and a Deſperate Fellow or two, with a whimſey of a deſign againſt his Perſon, fathers it very impudently upon theſe two Gentlemen, that they ſhould conſpire to murther and aſſaſſinate him. Mr. *Gerrard* was a very Young Gentleman, who notwithſtanding for his Gallantry had riſen to the Dignity of a Collonel in the Kings Armies, being Brother to that Noble Perſon Sir *Gilbert*, and related likewiſe to my Lord *Gerrard*: a ſpark who no queſtion dared to do ſuch a thing if commanded, but of a more patient valour then raſhly, and of his own head to attempt it: The other a quiet ſober Perſon, of great Learning, and good Fame, not to be the leaſt ſuſpected of ſo ven ureus and violent courſes, his employment

employment busying him in things of the meanest note, the teaching of Children.

Nevertheless, what cannot potent and mighty malice effect? one *Hudson* a blind man, whom Mr. *Vowell* had fed and cherished, is suborned to perjure himself against his Fosterer and Maintainer, who yet repented of his murtherous ingratitude, and unsaid at the *High Court of Justice*, now again erected, what he had said in his Examination, which only they now would admit of for Testimony; telling him, he was bribed off, when in truth he was bribed on. Against Mr. *Gerrard* they produced his Brother, a Youth, on whom with the threatned danger of Death, they prevail to give some kind of the like evidence against his Brother, which to confirm, they with the same Artifice extort a confession from one of the pretended Complices (at the Bar) of the whole design, his name was *Somerset Fox*, who likewise craved the Usurpers pardon, and obtained it,

This cleared the matter, they cryed; and with one voyce (not regarding the more rationall defence of these two Martyrs) they voted them to their Deaths, which was executed accordingly; against which time they prepared themselves as followeth.

The last Speech of Mr. *Peter Vowell*, which he intended to have delivered (had he been permitted) upon *Monday* the 10th of *July* 1654. (on which day he suffered death in the place where *Charing-cross* stood) as from the Original paper written with his own hand appeareth.

Gentlemen,

AT this earthly Bar from them that pretend to have a great measure of sanctity, I had hard measure: but to that Bar I am now going, the Bar of Heaven, I shall have Justice, yea one day Justice against them, except they water their beds & couches with tears of Repentance.

The

The Court gave ſevere and raſh Judgement on my Body, and ſent a pittifull fellow (but a pittileſſe fellow) that gave as raſh a Judgement of my Soul; but that precious Jewell none of them could touch to hurt. The Souls under the Altar cry aloud for Vengeance long agoe; how many more of late years have been added to them to help the cry? The cry is loud of thoſe lately, whoſe blood hath been unlawfully ſpilt; but Vengeance is Gods, and I will leave it to him.

The Court at my Tryal ſaid I was confident, and held it as a fault; he alſo whom they ſent to the Tower (I know not if to entrap me) under pretence to comfort my Soul, told me alſo, I was confident; I ſay the ſame, and the ſame confidence I bring with me now, and by Gods aſſiſtance, I hope I ſhall carry it out of this world with my innocency.

Gentlemen Souldiers, Among the antient and ſavage ſort of Heathen, they had a Law once every three, ſix, or twelve months to offer up a ſacrifice of humane blood to their God; and that their God was a Devil: Among us, whether Heathen or not, you beſt know; of late years we have had a fatal cuſtom, once in three, ſix, or twelve months to make not only a ſacrifice, but many ſacrifices of humane Chriſtian blood, our Scaffolds have reek'd and ſmoak'd with the choiceſt ſort of blood. But unto what God do you judge? What God is he that delights in the blood of man? Baal *the god of* Ekron, Belzebub, *the god of Flyes?*

Amongſt the Primitive Chriſtians that lived neareſt the time of our Saviour Chriſt, the greateſt Tyrants and perſecutors of the Chriſtians lived; the perſecution was great, and yet the courage of thoſe perſecuted Chriſtians was ſo great, that it excelled the fury of the Perſecutors, that they came in faſter to be kill'd, then they could kill; they offered their bodies and throats ſo thick unto the ſlaughter, that the hands of Tyrants were weary with killing; and yet Sanguis Martyrum, *was* Semen Eccleſiæ, *and many Heathens came in with the Chriſtians, ſeeing their chearfull conſtancy, turned Chriſtians, and dyed Chriſtians, and dyed with them; the Chriſtians ſtill encreaſed the more.*

Of late years here hath been a great perſecution in this Nation, and yet the ſufferers have been ſo many, and preſent themſelves ſo thick in the vindication of their King,

Country,

Country, and Laws, that they ſtartled the very enemy himſelf; their conſtancy ſo great, that the eyes of their Judges dropped tears, whether reall or true, let the Judge of Judges judge: They ſtill ſtand amazed at their conſtancy, though they exceed the old Heathens, are not weary of killing,

Oh Souldiers! How many of you have been brought up, and led on by blind principles, wronged in your education, or ſeduced by your indiſcreet heedleſſe and heady Teachers? How many of you young men have for ſome ſmall diſcontent departed from your loving Maſters, dear Friends, or tender Parents, and fled into the Army? How many of you driven by Tyranous oppreſsion, poverty, or cruelty, have left your dear Wives and Children? And ſome for novelty or wantonneſſe adhere to this employment, not conſidering the great danger of ſpilling innocent blood.

How many of you have drawn your Swords you do not know for what? How many of you keep drawn your Swords you do not know for what? You have put to death a pious and juſt King, and in his ſtead have reared up even another Jeroboam, that makes Iſrael to ſin: What his goodneſſe is, you beſt know: You have put down a good old Law, and reared up another of your own to judge the people by; my calling for the benefit of the former, and for the equity even of your own Law, I am in part condemned here to dye. Be you Judge of the proceedings.

How many of you have had a hand in putting down the antient true Church, and raiſed up in your own imaginations a new one? But alas! You know not what you do; if you did, you would grieve to ſee what a glorious Church you have ruined: You would never have pulled down the hedges, and broken down the fences, that the wilde Beaſts of the Forreſt ſhould come in, that the little Foxes ſhould devour, and the wilde Boar ſhould root out ſo ſtately a Vine.

When the Jews were led into captivity, their goodly and magnificent Temple was burnt; but in proceſſe of time, they obtained favour amongſt the Heathen Kings they dwelt amongſt, and had liberty therewith to re-build: re-build they did, and finiſhed a ſecond Temple, at which ſight all the Young men rejoyced to ſee ſo gallant a Temple, but the Old men wept to ſee how far different and ſhort the ſecond Tem-

ple

ple was, from the glory of the first: So you Young men rejoyce at your imaginary Church, but the Old men methinks I see some weep, (Oh weep not for me) weep for your Country, weep to see Religion, Liberties and Laws taken from you, weep to see so many good men snatcht away, but indeed from the miseries to come, and weep for what your unhappy selves will suffer.

Souldiers, however you flourish for a time, and perhaps many of you may rejoyce at our Deaths; but believe it, as Sampson *pull'd the House of the* Philistims *down when he fell, so shall we give you and your Cause a greater blow by our Deaths, then living we could possibly have done. You may for a time flourish, but remember what our Saviour said.* All you that make use of the Sword, shall perish by the Sword, you shall be cut down like the grasse, and wither away like the green herbs.

But do you behold yonder glorious place? Do you behold the Spangled Heavens, where the holy Angels dwell, where God himself is rounded with Thrones, Principalities, Powers, and the Celestial Spirits of just men, when the Trump shall blow, when the dead shall rise at the dreadfull day of Judgement; How will you answer all your Rapes and Murthers? Do you think your hands that have been bathed in the blood of your King, the blood of so many of your eminent Countrymen so unjustly, that have been bathed in the blood of so many of your Friends, your Kindred, perhaps your Parents, can ever reach yonder glorious place without Repentance? Oh no! repent now therefore, it is not too late, shake off your bloody Protector, *rescue your antient Laws, and call in your Royal Young* Prince, *whom you have long enough wronged; Make your Addresses to the great Protector of Heaven and Earth, as I now do my self, for a Pardon for all your former and present transgressions.*

I dye an obedient Son of the Church of England, *and with a dutifull heart to the King, and desire that none present that love him, will be disheartned by my Death, but continue faithfull to the end.*

And so farewell, I forgive all the world, &c.

The Speech and manner of putting to Death Coll. John Gerrard, *who was Beheaded on* Tower-hill, July 10. 1654.

IT was thought needleſſe by the Friends of Col. *Gerrard* to declare any thing concerning his Sufferings unto the World, more then in their ſighs, had not the ſacrilegious malice of the laſt weekly Pamphlet thrown ſome ſtains upon his name, and ſo incenſed them to a vindication as pious as his death was. 'Tis moſt certain, that there can no blots ſtick upon true honour, when ſuch weak fellows endeavour againſt it: Theſe are curſed beaſts but their horns are ſhort; ſepulchral dogs! that ſcrape up graves, and violate the dead, and are fierce and ravenous but yet dogs ſtill. And all worthy people will call their railing praiſe, and what they intend a barking infamy, the greateſt merit. Yet becauſe every underſtanding is not of the ſame brightneſſe, and thoſe putrid libels may by ill chance fall into ſome innocent hand hereafter (and yet ſure ſuch vermine ſhould not be endured long) therefore let wiſe and good men pardon him that hath undertaken this juſtice for that Gentleman, and be pleaſed to read this ſad ſtory, not for their ſatisfaction ſake, but their ſorrows: It may dry up a friendly tear perhaps, and ſtill a murmuring groan to ſee the comely poſture of his paſſion, how well all was carried by him, and how honourably, and the honeſt circumſtances may not improbably take off from the ſadneſſe. Why ſhould I grieve that death which had ſuch a living glory in it? Or diſhonour that blood with feeble tears, which was ſhed ſo like the holy Martyrs? All that knew this perſon cannot but witneſſe his generous reſolution, and whether his great courage fell leſſe then it ſelf (as that viper hiſſeth) or did not rather riſe greater now, when the Chriſtian was twiſted with the Gentleman, let this faithfull Relation witneſſe. In which, though all terms and ſyllables

may

may not be exactly the same, yet if there be a material falshod, or a wilfull flattery, may his neck that wrote it feel a viler destiny then axes or halters. *Amicus* Gerardus, *sed magis amica veritas.*

From the first day of his imprisonment he foresaw the heavy sentence hovering upon him, and therefore gave all diligence to secure himself against it; that however he underwent a temporal condemnation, he might escape an eternal. But after that sad doom was pronounced, then he bestirred himself amain, and made double hast for Heaven, It was for his life, and therefore he would lose no minute, but the same night gave directions to a dear friend for a minister (whom he knew to have long honoured his family) to be brought to him early next morning; and it pleased Authority to gratifie him in this great desire, so that an order was sent freely for the quiet admission of any such person to him. With this spiritual friend he spent some hours every day in prayer, and other ghostly refreshments, which (God be praised) were not without sweet effect and impressions upon his soul. There were some other Ministers of great observation for gravity and godlinesse in these times, who visited him, and who I am confident will put their seal to this truth with me, that they found him meek, humble, modest, penitent, comforted, and not far from the Kingdome of God, if not already in it: But I have good hope he was in possession, and so had he, through grace. Upon the morning (which was the last he must see till that of the Resurrection) he submitted to some wholsome orders of the Church, and received her comforts by them. That done, he proceeded to the (highest enjoyment of grace that can be admintstred upon death) holy Communion, whereof with his Brother Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* he was a partaker, with as much reverence, zeal, thankfulnesse, holy sorrows, and holy joys, as a devout soul could evidenle. He wept as if he would have washed his Saviours wounds, which his faith presented in his tears; and yet he said he was admirably ravished with all inward Peace and Comfort in his own Conscience.

Mr. Bond
Mr. Caryl.

This

This paſſed he had now nothing to do but to die, which he expected that morning very ſpeedily; but by the pleaſure of Authority, both the time and the place of his execution was altered, ſo that he was to wait a little longer, untill evening, for his releaſe. Many friends and perſons of Honour came to take their laſt leave of him, who can gladly witneſſe his undiſturbedneſſe and civil cheerfulneſſe to every one of them. His brother tarried continually with him, and they ate together; and though ſome eruptions of paſſion could not be reſtrained now and then, where nature was ſo much concerned, yet they were generally pleaſant, and at laſt parted (about halfe an hour before he was led out to death) with as much calmneſs and placidneſſe, as if they had been to meet again anon ſafe and unhurt, as they had done formerly. So have I ſeen a windy and ſtormy day concluding in ſtilneſſe and Sun-ſhine, as weary and deſiring to reſt without any breath of trouble; The Miniſter onely waiting on him to the laſt; and about five a clock enters the Lievtenant of the Tower, and the Sheriff of *London*; two ſure friends, that will not leave him as long as he hath life remaining in him: They told him a ſour Meſſage, that they were come to conduct him to his deaths blow: He replyed, they were very welcome, and received them ſo fearleſs and untroubled, that the Sheriff told the Miniſter, *He was ſorry to ſee him ſo unfit for that condition*; but (under favour) he miſtook his condition; That which he accounted fitneſs to dy, our Pamphlet-monger would have called flagging and cowardiſe. So hard a thing it is to ſatisfie all curioſities, even with our blood; and nothing more ingenuous then to carry this bitter cup even, when ſo many miſconſtructions ſhake it. At his lodging he deſired the Sheriff, that he would permit the Miniſter and three others that were his friends and ſervants to go upon the Scaffold with him; which as it was ſeaſonable wiſdome in him to deſire, ſo was it a fortunate kindneſs from them that granted it; elſe it may be their teſtimony might have been wanting to his injured reputation. He took leave in particular of the houſhold where he was priſoner, and was ſo clearly collected in every thing he did, that he went out of his way into the Kitching to bid his Landlady farewell, giving her thanks for her reſpects during his bonds, which he

ſaid he ſhould dy indebted to her. As he paſſed by the guards in the Tower he gave them money twice, and told them, he ſhould trouble them no longer, being on his remove to better guards. He walked along to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, ſhewing a great deal of humility and reſpect to the people, who generally lamented him, and prayed for him. As he went he was bare headed for the moſt part, carrying his hat in his hand, and ſometimes reſting it in a careleſſe bravery on his left ſide. When he came to (or rather leaped upon) the Scaffold; for he was ſo farre from flagging when to tread that Tragicall Stage, that many obſerved how ſprightfully he ſeem'd to skip up the Steps to it, as if he had gone to dance there, rather then to die) his grim Executioner preſented himſelfe to him; to whom with a cheerfull ſmile he ſaid, *Welcome honeſt friend*; and deſiring to ſee his Ax. he took it into his hands, and kiſſing it with a pretty glance of his eye (which was a naturall lovelineſſe in him) towards the Miniſter, he ſaid, *this will do the deed, I warrant it*. The Scaffold was very much crowded with people; yet, as well as he could, he made ſome turns to and fro upon it, with a paper he had taken out of his pocket, in his hands; wherein it ſeems he had prepared ſome heads of a ſpeech which he intended to have delivered: but the Sheriff told him, if he delivered any thing, it muſt be very brief, and that they muſt not ſuffer him to ſpeak any thing that was ſeditious; *Well Gentlemen* (ſaid he) *your will be done; but (God be praiſed) I never yet had to doe with any thing that was ſeditious! I would fain have ſpoken ſomething to clear my ſelfe to the world, according to the cuſtome, if it might have been; But come Sir*, ſaith he, turning to the Miniſter, *Let you and I ſpeake to him that will give us leave*: and ſo kneeling down in the corner of the Stage, the Miniſter prayed with him a ſhort time; which done, they ſtood up again. Then turning himſelf again to the people, and putting off his hat, he told them, *That he was not permitted to ſpeake a few words, according to his intention; but yet he doubted not but what he would have ſaid would come to their eyes, though it muſt not come to their eares: But this I deſire all to take notice of*, (and this he ſpoke with a double vehemence) *that I dye a faithful ſubject and ſervant to King Charles the ſecond, whom I pray God to bleſs and reſtore to his Rights; and had I ten thouſand*

thouſan

thouſand lives, I would gladly lay them all down thus for his ſervice. Here he was interrupted, and the Sheriff wiſhed him rather to confeſſe what he knew concerning the horrid Plot he was condemned for; He anſwered, *That he had confeſſed all that he knew concerning any Plot, that he thought they knew more of the Plot that condemned him, then he did but he heartily forgave them.* The Miniſter told him, it was well done to forgive thoſe that perſecute us; that it was an Act of true Chriſtian love; but as his Caſe ſtood, love was not enough; He ought to deal in this buſineſs (upon which his life lay) with all candour and ſincerity, not concealing any thing of that nature as was charged againſt him as far as he might glorifie God, and ſerve the publique good. Upon which lifting up his eies towards heaven, and laying his hand upon his breaſt, *Oh Sirs,* ſaid he, *if there had been any ſuch thing in this breaſt, would I not have revealed it before this time! I proteſt, in the ſight of Almighty God, I know no more of any ſuch deſign, but onely what I have often acknowledged, that it was mentioned to me by* Henſhaw, *(who I confidently believe is in their hands) and debated twice or thrice when I was with him: but I never entertained it at all; and at the laſt flatly diſown'd it, and told him I would have nothing to do in it. He was many times preſſing me to nominate what perſons I knew I could bring, and to have their names; but let them ſhew any ſuch thing, if they can, againſt me. But I am certain, he is in their hands.* Pauſing here a little, and fetching a turn or two upon the caffold, being very hot (as he had been all that morning) he called for ſome ſmall Beer, which he had given order to be ready, and was brought thither in a ſtone bottle, of which he drunk a little once or twice; then the Miniſter went to him, and minded him that ſomething might be expected of him as to his religion, and diſpoſition to die. To which, gathering up an extraordinary reſolution in his face) he replied, *I dye a Chriſtian, as one Chriſtian, according to that Faith and Religion which was profeſſed by the Church of England in the time of our late King of bleſſed memory. And I praiſe God, I am ſo fitted and ready to dye, that I am confident, by the merits of Chriſt Jeſus, that my ſins are pardoned, and my ſalvation is at hand.* Then turning about he called for his waſtcoat and cap; and throwing off his doublet put them on; whilſt his ſervants helped to put up his hair. His Waſtcoat was not very clean, which he took

notice of to his man: *But 'tis no great matter, ſaith he, if the heart be clean, all's well enough.* Being thus prepared he calls for the Block: and viewing it (as with delight) laid himſelfe down upon it, to ſee how it would fit, and was ſo far from ſinking at the ſight of it, that he almoſt plaid with it: and riſing quickly pulls a little paper out of his pocket, which he gave to the Miniſter, willing him to finde that particular prayer which was proper for that occaſion; but the crowd being great, he could not quickly find it; ſo that he kneeled down with the book open a while as if he had read; but quickly ſhut it, and prayed with great expreſſions of fervency by himſelf. When he had done, the Lievtenant ſaid ſomething to him (as it ſeems) concerning his Brother *Charles* that had witneſſed againſt him; I know not what the Lievtenant ſaid, (for he ſpake low) but Mr. *Gerrard* ſpake aloud, and replied paſſionately, *O Chriſt! Sir, I love my poor brother with all my heart; he is but a youth, and was terrified; I know how he was dealt with; tell him, I love him as well as ever I loved him in my life. And commend me to my brother Sir,* Gilbert, *whoſe releaſe I beſeech you, Sir, to aſſiſt, there being no more cauſe, that I know of, for his impriſonment, then onely that he was found in the ſame bed with me, which ſure is no capitall crime.* Having ſaid this, he took his leave of him, and the Sheriff, and all he knew on the ſtage; and turning about once more to the people, deſir'd them to pray for him; himſelf kneeling down with the Miniſter laid his hand in his boſome, and they prayed together the laſt time. After this he bids them all farewel again; *and beſought them, to remember they had a poor ſoveraign abroad, who deſerved to be remembred.* Then forgiving the Executioner, and ſaluting the Miniſter with his laſt embrace and kiſſes, he bow'd himſelf to the ſtroak of death, with as much Chriſtian meekneſſe and noble courage mix'd together, as I believe was ever ſeen in any that had bled upon that Altar. And this all the people that were ſpectators did ſeem to underſtand and acknowledge: beholding his fatal blow with an univerſal ſadneſſe and ſilence; whereas, when the other Gentleman fell quickly after upon the ſcore of blood and ryot, they gave a great and generall ſhout, as applauding the juſtice of the *Portugals* death; but pitying and bewailing the untimely fall of ſo brave and magnanimous a ſpirit, as did (through all the clouds of death ſhine glorioufly in this unfortunate Gentleman.

His

His Speech,

Gentlemen,

AS this kind of ſpectacle is no new entertainment to your eyes, for you have had a late glut of ſuch objects: ſo it is no ſtrange thing to me, to be made ſuch a ſpectacle; for I have been bred upon the Theatre of death, and have learned that part ſo well, though I confeſſe a very hard one, as to performe it pretty handſomely, both as it becomes a Gentleman, and a Chriſtian.

Onely I muſt deſire you to expect no fine prologue, or Speech, from me; I never ſtudied to make Orations: a very unfit man to lay plots againſt a State, who am ſcarce able to lay a few lines of plain Engliſh together, as I ought: But though I cannot ſpeak happily; I doubt not but I ſhall die happily.

I confeſſe my ſelfe a great ſinner, Who is innocent? God be merciful to me a miſerable ſinner; I adore the juſtice of God in all this that is come upon me: I have deſerved to dy long ſince; and bleſſed be God, who hath given me ſuch time to prepare. But for this crime I ſtand condemned for to day, I do proteſt my own innocency, as to any conſent or engagement to act it.

I hope you will believe me, when you conſider upon what ſlender proofs and teſtimonies I ſuffer; none of them legall, or poſitive, but circumſtantial.

For my brother Charles, alas poor youth! how he was wrought upon! but I deſire all my friends to think honourably of him.

For my brother, Sir Gilbert.

This imagination of a Plot is ſaid to be hatched in France, but I fear the neſt was at Whitehall.

As for the King,—— ſo far from concurring with ſuch a deed, that I am onely unſatisfied in this, whether I ſhall dy right in his favour, becauſe ſuſpected of a thing ſo unworthy of him.

I fear he loſt his Kingdome by ſuch practices, but whether he would recover them ſo, is a queſtion: God hath better wayes, when it ſhall be good in his ſight, to plead his cauſe.

I was lately in France, but on my own ſcore; for I have commanded there, and probably might.

For my paſt life, it hath been but a troubleſome one, but now I hope I ſhall reſt; ſince I was any thing I ſerved the King, as I was bound: and I wiſh all that did ſo had done it faithfully. He was condemned for a Tyrant, but God——

For my Religion, though a Souldier, I am able to professe I am a Christian souldier, a true Son of the Church of England, as constituted under Queen Elizabeth, K. James, and K. Charles of blessed memory. Her Doctrine and Government I embrace, Her Truth and Peace I pr ay God to restore.

I humbly give thanks to God Almighty, for providing me the comfort of a Minister, on whose fidelity I might repose my soul.

And I pray God to bless the poor faithful ministers of this Church, and give you hearts to esteem them; the want whereof is no small want of our misery.

My dayes have been few and evill; yet, God be blessed, in all the vanities and folly of my youth, I have been farre from Atheism or contempt of Gods worship; I had alwayes awfull impressions of Gods honour and service; which is now my comfort.

And now dear Country men, fare you well, I pray God bless you all, with this whole Nation.

Alas poor England! When will these black dayes be over? When will there be blood enough? I wish mine might fill up the measure. I forgive all.

Once more, fare you wel, commend me to all my friends, Pray for me I pray God make you as faithfull and loyall as I have lived, and as happy as I shall be by and by when I am dead.

Come Lord Jesus, come quickly.

Father of mercies, have mercie on me.

Saviour of the world, save my soul.

O Lamb of God that takest away the sinnes of the world, hear my prayers.

Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.

Lord Jesus, receive my soul.

Collonel.

Colonel Penruddock, *Colonel* Grove, *Mr.* Lucas, *Mr.* Kentey, *Mr.* Thorpe, &c.

Murdered at Exeter, Chard, *and* Salisbury.

NOw comes the second part of *Cromwels* slaughter house; he had but dipt his finger in blood, now he will wash his hands in it; a custome he most greedily used at the fall of a Deer, and shewed his Nose and mind were of the same complexion. For having called a *Parliament* the next year being 1655, and parting with them, and they with him, in mutual discontent, (they not owning of his usurpation) to the great endangering of his Sultanship; he wisely foresaw he ought to be before hand with their plots and combinations, which he knew would be laid against him, and whereof at his dissolving the *Parliament* he gave some hints, as already in Agitation. To that purpose he and his Secretary *Thurlow* with the magnificent bribe of 500 *per Anr.* and other advantages corrupted one *Manning* Son to a Colonell that lost his life in his Majesties service, then one of the Clerks to the King at *Colen*, to discover and betray what intelligence the King held with his subjects in *England*; which the Traytor so duely performed, that nothing passed there, but what *Cromwell* had speedy notice of.

Among the rest of occurrences he gave intimation of a General Plot laid over *England* for the restitution of the King: many several particular Gentlemen engaged in it, of which number were these noble Cavaliers; who having agreed on the day when the whole Kingdome was to rise, did bravely keep their appointment; but *Cromwel* knowing of the very minute of their rising had ordered Forces so advantagiously to attend them, that they should not be in a capacity to embody together, if any considerable parties should be up together.

The first appearance was at *Salisbury* the 2d. of *March* by two in the morning; where they seized the Judges Commissions and their horses, and there rendevouzed, and came again into the Town before dinner, being in all to the number of four or five hundred men under the Command of sir

ſeph Wagſtaffe who led them to *Blandford* where Colonel Penruddock himſelfe Proclaymed the King; but the Country not riſing generally as was expected, moſt of them ſlunck away and got home and eſcaped; the reſt marched into *Southmouton* in *Deuonſhire* without reſting any were, and being overwearied and ſleepy and hungry were ſet upon in their quarters by captain *Unton Crook*, who had purſued them with that County Troop, they deſigning to get into *Cornwall*. Captain *Crook*, after an hot diſpute of an hour, was forced to grant them quarter, which he ſhamefully afterwards denyed to the Tyrant; ſo that upon their arraignment before Juſtice *Windham* at *Exeter*, twenty ſix of them were condemned; at *Chard* five, at *Salisbury* nine, whereof at *Salisbury* were hanged ſeven, at *Chard* two (Major *Hunt* eſcaping the night before his execution in his Siſters cloathes, who came to take her farewel of him) at *Exeter* eleven. Mr. *Lucas* was likewiſe beheaded at *Salisbury* being deluded with the hopes of a repriev from the mercileſſe Tyrant till ſix hours before his death. And Colonel *Penruddock* and *Grove* at *Exeter*, (*Jones* the other principle Gentleman being a kin to *Oliver* was ſpared) having at their tryals and deaths undauntedly pleaded and aſſerted the Law, eſpecially the benefit of their Articles, and moſt Triumphantly marched to the fruition of their Martyiral Crown, the manner as followeth,

The Speech of the Honourable Colonell Penruddock, the greateſt part whereof he delivered upon the Scaffold in Exon Caſtle, the 16 of May 1655 the whole he left with a Gentleman and friend of his, written with his own hand; which is as followeth:

Together with the manner of his being beheaded.

As he aſcended the Scaffold, baring his knees, and bowing himſelf, he uſed theſe words: This I hope will prove to be like *Jacobs* ladder; though the foot of it is on Earth, yet I doubt not but the top of it reacheth to Heaven.

When he came upon the Scaffold, he ſaid.

O wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from this body of death? I thank God, who hath given me victory through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Then

Then with a bundance of Christian cheerfulness he spake to the people, as followeth;

Gentlemen,

IT hath ever been the custome of all persons whatsoever, when they come to die, to give some satisfaction to the world, whether they be guilty of the fact of which they stand charged. The crime for which I am now to dy, is Loyalty, (but) in this age call'd high Treason. I cannot deny, but I was at *Southmolton* in this County: but whether my being there, or my actions there amount to so high a crime as high Treason, I leave it to the world, and to the law, to judge. Truely if I were conscious to my selfe of any base ends that I had in this undertaking, I would not be so injurious to my own soul, or disingenuous to you, as not to make a publique acknowledgment thereof. I suppose that divers persons, according as they are biassed in their several interests and relations, give their opinions to the world concerning us. I conceive it impossible, therefore, so to expresse my self in this particular, as not to expose both my judgement and reputation to the censure of many which I shall leave behind me. Because I will not put others, therefore, upon a breach of charity concerning me, or my actions, I have thought fit to decline all discourses which may give them a capacity either to injure themselves, or me. My Tryal was publique, and my several examinations (I believe) will be produced, when I am in my grave: I will refer you therefore to the first, which I am sure some of you heard; and to the latter, which many of you (in good time) may see. Had Captain *Crook* done himself and us that right which a Gentleman and a Souldier ought to have done, I had not now been here. The man I forgive with all my heart: but truely Gentlemen, his protesting against those articles he himself with so many protestations and importunities put upon us, hath drawn so much dishonour and blood upon his head, that I fear some heavy judgement will pursue him. Though he hath been false to us, I pray God, I do not prove a true prophet to him.

Nay, I must say more, that coming on the road to *Exon*, he

he the said Captain *Crook* told me Sir *Joseph Wagstaff* was a gallant Gentleman, and that he was sorry he was not taken with us; that then he might have had the benefit of our Articles, but now (said he) I have beset all the Country for him, so that he cannot escape, but must be hanged.

He also questioned me as I passed through *Salisbury* from *London*, whether he had given me conditions; which I endeavouring to make appear to Major *Butler*, he interrupted me, and unwillingly confest, saying, I profered him four hundred pounds to perform his Articles; which had been a strange profer of mine, had I not really conditioned with him. And I told him then (having found him unworthy) I would have given him five hundred pounds, believing him to be mercenary. To make it yet farther appear I injure him not by stiling him unworthy, after these articles were given he profered to pistol me, if I did not perswade another house to yield, which then were boldly resisting. To which my servant *John Biby* (now a prisoner) replyed; I hope you will not be so unworthy as to break the LAW of Arms.

Thus much I am obliged to say to the honour of the souldiery, that they have been so farre from breaking any Articles given to others, that they have rather bettered them then otherwise.

It is now our misfortune to be made presidents and examples together: But I will not do the Protector so much injury, as to load him with dishonour; since I have been informed, that he would have made our Conditions good, if *Crook* that gave them had not abjur'd them.

This is not a time for me to enlarge upon any subject, since I am now become the subject of Death: But since the Articles were drawn by my hand, I thought my selfe obliged to a particular justification of them.

I could tell you of some souldiers which are turned out of his Troop for defending of those conditions of ours: but let that passe; and henceforward, instead of Life, Liberty, and Estate, (which were the Articles agreed upon) et Drawing Hanging and Quartering, bear the denomination of Captain *Crooks* Articles.

However, I thank the Protector, for granting me this honourable death.

I

I should now give you an account of my Faith. But truly, Gentlemen, this poor Nation is rent into so many severall opinions, that it is impossible to give you mine without displeasing some of you. However if a man be so critical, as to inquire of what faith I die, I shall refer him to the Apostles, *Athanasius*, and the *Nicene* Creed, and to the testimony of this Reverend Gentleman Dr. *Short*, to whom I have unbosomed my self and if this doth not satisfie, look into the thirty nine Articles of the Church of *England*; to them I have subscribed, and do own them as authentick.

Having now given you an account concerning my selfe; I hold my self obliged in duty to some of my friends, to take off a suspition that lies upon them: I mean as to some persons of honour, which upon my examination I was charged to have held correspondence with: The Marques of *Hartford*, the Marques of *Winchester*, and my Lord of *Pembrook* were the persons nominated to me. I did then acquit them, and do now second it, with this protestation, that I never held any correspondence with either or any of them, in relation to this particular business, or indeed to any thing which concern'd the Protector or his Government. As for the Marques of *Winchester*, I saw him some twelve years since, and not later; and if I should see him here present, I believe I should not know him. And for the Earl of *Pembrook*, he was not a man likely to whom *I* should discover my thoughts, because he is a man of a contrary judgement.

I was examined likewise concerning my Brother *Fitche*, my Cousin *Hastings*, Mr. *Dorrington* and others. It is probable, their estates may make them lyable to this my condition: but I do here so farre acquit them, as to give the World this further protestation, that I am confident they are as innocent in this business as the youngest child here.

I have no more to say to you now, but to let you know that I am in charity with all men. I thank God, I both can, and do forgive my greatest persecutors, and all that ever had any hand in my death.

I have offered the Protector as good security for my future demeanour as I suppose he could have expected: if he had thought fit to have given me my life, certainly I should

not

not have been so ungratefull as to have imployed it against him. I do humbly submit to Gods pleasure, knowing that the issues of life and death are in his hand. My blood is but a small sacrifice; if it had been saved, I am so much a Gentleman, as to have given thanks to him that preserved it; and so much a Christian, as to forgive them which take it. But seeing God, by his providence, hath called me to lay it down, I willingly submit to it, though terrible to nature: but blessed be my Saviour, who hath taken out the sting; so that I look upon it without terror. Death is a debt, and a due debt; and it hath pleased God to make me so good a husband, that I am come to pay it before it is due. I am not a shamed of the Cause for which I dy, but rather rejoyce, that I am thought worthy to suffer in the defence and cause of Gods true Church, my lawful King, the liberty of the Subject, and the Priviledges of Parliaments. Therefore I hope none of my Alliance and friends will be ashamed of it; it is so farre from pulling down my family, that I look upon it as the raising of it one story higher. Neither was I so prodigal of nature, as to throw away my life, but have used (though none but honourable and honest) meanes to preserve it.

These unhappy times indeed have been very fatall to our family; two of my brothers already slain, and my selfe going to the slaughter; it is Gods will, and I humbly submit to that providence.

I must render an acknowledgment of the great civilities that I have received from this City of *Exon*, and some persons of quality, and for their plentifull provision made for the prisoners. I thank Mr. Sheriff for his favour towards us, in particular to my self; and I desire him to present my due respects to the Protector; and though he had no mercy for my self, yet that he would have respect to my family.

I am now stripping off my cloaths, to fight a duel with death, (I conceive no other duel lawfull) but my Saviour hath pulled out the sting of this mine enemy, by making himselfe a sacrifice for me: And truely I do not think that man deserving one drop of his blood, that will not spend all for him in so good a cause.

The Truth is, Gentlemen, in this age Treason is an *individuum vagum*; like the wind in the Gospell, it bloweth where

it

it lifteth; ſo now Treaſon is what they pleaſe, and lighteth upon whom they will. Indeed no man, unleſſe he will be a Traytor, can avoid this cenſure of Treaſon, I know not to what end it may come, but I pray God, my own, and my Brothers blood, that is now to dy with me, may be the laſt upon this ſcore.

Now, Gentlemen, you may ſee what a condition you are in without a King: you have no law to protect you, no rule to walke by; when you performe your duty to God, your King, and Country, you diſpleaſe the Arbitrary power now ſet up; (I cannot call it Government) I ſhall leave you to peruſe my tryal, and there you ſhall ſee what a condition this poor Nation is brought into; and no queſtion will be utterly deſtroyed, if not reſtored (by loyal Subjects) to its old and glorious Governmnet. I pray God, he lay not his jndgements on *England*, for their ſluggiſhneſſe in doing their duty, and readineſſe to put their hands in their boſoms, or rather taking part with the enemy of Truth. The Lord open their eyes, that they may be no longer lead, or drawn into ſuch ſnares; elſe the child that is unborn will curſe the day of their Parents birth.

God Almighty preſerve my Lawfull King, *Charles* the ſecond, from the hands of his Enemies, and break down that wall of Pride and Rebellion, which ſo long hath kept him from his juſt Right. God preſe ve his Royall Mother, and incline their hearts to ſeek after him. God incline the hearts of all true *Engliſhmen* to ſtand up, as one man, to bring in the King, and redeem themſelves and this poor Kingdom out of its more than *Egyptian* ſlavery.

As I have now put off theſe garments of Cloth, ſo I hope I have put off my garments of ſin, and have put on the Robes of Chriſts Righteousneſſe here, which will bring me to the enjoyment of his glorious Robes anon.

Then he kneeled down and kiſſed the block, and ſaid thus, I commit my ſoul to God my Creator, and Redeemer. Look upon me, O Lord, at my laſt gaſping. Hear my prayer, and the prayers of all good people. I thank thee, O God, for all thy diſpenſations towards me.

Then kneeling down he prayed moſt devoutly, as followeth.

O Eternall, Almighty and moſt mercifull God, the righteous Judge of the world, look down in mercy on me moſt miſerable ſinner. O bleſſed Jeſus, Redeemer of Mankind, which takeſt away the ſins of the world, let thy perfect mirrour of obedience be preſented to thy Heavenly Father for me. Let thy pretious death and blood be the ranſome and ſatisfaction for my many and heynous tranſgreſſions. Thou that ſitteſt at the right hand of God make interceſſion for me. O holy and bleſſed Spirit, that art the Comforter, fill my heart with thy conſolations. O holy, bleſſed and glorious Trinity, be mercifull to me, confirm my faith in the promiſes of thy Goſpell, revive and quicken my hope and expectation of joyes prepared for true and faithfull ſervants. Let the infinite love of God my Saviour make my love to him ſtedfaſt, ſincere, and conſtant.

O Lord, conſider my condition, accept my tears, aſſwage my grief, give comfort and confidence in thee: impute not unto me my former ſins, but moſt mercifull Father, receive me into thy favour, for the merits of Chriſt Jeſus. Many and grievous are my ſins, for I have ſinned many times againſt the light of knowledge, againſt remorſe of conſcience, againſt the motions and opportunities of grace. But accept, I beſeech thee, the ſacrifice of a broken and contrite heart, in and for the perfect ſacrifice, oblation and ſatisfaction of thy Son Ieſus Chriſt. O Lord, receive my ſoul after it is delivered from the burthen of the fleſh, into perfect joy, in the ſight and fruition of thee. And at the general reſurrection, grant that my body may be endowed with immortality, and received with my ſoul into glory.

I praiſe thee, O God, I acknowledge thee to be the Lord; O Lamb of God, that takeſt away the ſins of the world, have mercy on me. Thou that ſitteſt at the right hand of God, hear my prayer. O Lord Ieſus Chriſt, God and Man, Mediator betwixt God and man, I have ſinned as a man, be thou mercifull to me as a God. O holy and bleſſed Spirit, help my infirmities with thoſe ſighes and groanes which I cannot expreſſe.

Then he deſired to ſee the Axe, and kiſſed it, ſaying, he was like to have a ſharpe paſſage of it, but my Saviour hath ſweetned it unto me.

Then he ſaid; if I would have been ſo unworthy as others have been, I ſuppoſe I might by a ly have ſaved my life, which I ſcorn to purchaſe at ſuch a rate; I defie ſuch temptations, and them that gave them me.

Glory

Glory be to God on High: On Earth peace: Good will towards Men. And the Lord have mercy upon my poor ſoul, Amen.

So laying his Neck upon the Block, after ſome private Ejaculations, he gave the Heads man a ſign with his hand, who at one blow ſevered his head from his body.

The Speech of Colonel Hugh Grove.

Good people,

I Never was guilty of ſuch Rhetorick, nor never loved long ſpeeches in all my life, and therefore you cannot expect either of them from me now at my death All that I ſhall deſire of you, beſides your hearty prayers for my ſoul, is, that you would bear me witneſſe that I dy a true ſon to the Church of *England*, as it was eſtabliſhed by King *Edward* the ſixth, Queen *Elizabeth*, K. *James*, and K *Charles* the firſt of ever bleſſed memory: That I dy a Loyall ſubject to King *Charles* the 2d. my undoubted ſoveraign, and a lover of the good old Lawes of the Land, the juſt priveledges of Parliaments, and Rights and liberties of the People; for the re-eſtabliſhing of all which I did undertake this engagement, and for which I am ready to lay down my life. God forgive the bloody minded Jury, and thoſe that procured them: God forgive Captain Crook for denying his Articles ſo unworthily God forgive Mr. *Dove*, and all other perſons, ſwearing ſo maliciouſly and falſly againſt me; God forgive all my enemies; I heartily forgive them. God bleſſe the King, and all that love him; turn the hearts of all that hate him; God bleſs you all, and be merciful to you, and to my ſoul, Amen.

And ſo meekly laying his head upon the block, and giving a ſign, his head at one blow, and a draw of the axe, was ſevered from his body.

The Earle of Derby *his Martirdome.*

THis illuſtrious and moſt honourable Perſon, to whoſe memory all the piety of Engliſh grief cannot but ſufficiently contribute, was a faithfull ſouldier and ſervant in the Kings Army, from the beginning of our troubles: He was infinitely honoured and beloved by his Country. The reſidence

dence of his noble family in *Lancaſhire*, which he loyally improved in his Maſters ſervice, till the fatal expiration thereof (witneſſe *Marſton Moor*, that redoubted fortreſs of *Latham* Houſe, kept ſo magnanimouſly by his order, and his Counteſſes prudence) when abandoning all his other eſtates to the Fury, covetouſneſſe, and injuſtice of the Rebel victors, he betooke himſelfe to his Principality in the Iſle of *Man*, where he continued in quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion, till the Expedition of our ſoveraign Lord King *Charles* the ſecond in 1651 out of *Scotland* to *Worceſter*: To the furtherance whereof, he forſooke that faſtneſs, and followed the Kings fortunes, which unhappily brought him to his end; being taken after *Worceſter* fight whither he fled from *Wigon* (being defeated there with his Forces he had raiſed in *Lancaſhire*, by Colonel *Lilburn*) and ſentenced at a Court of War held at *Cheſter* by vertue of a pretended act of the Rump Parliament, forbiding correſpondency, &c. And beheaded at *Bolton*, *October* 15th, 1651. The manner, as followeth.

The Speech of the right, honourable James *Earle of* Derby.

TO ſave the ungrateful flouriſhes of this Cypreſſe bough, it will be ſorrow enough to tel the world, that this noble Earle was led by one *Southay* who commanded a party of Colonel *Jones* his Horſe, by order from Colonell *Duckenfield* on *Wedneſday* 15th. *October*, to *Bolton*.

He was brought to a houſe in the Town, near the Croſs, where the Scaffold was railed; and as he paſſed by, he ſaid (*VENIO, DOMINE*) *I am prepared to fulfill thy will, O my GOD, this Scaffold muſt be my Croſſe, bleſſed SAVIOUR, I take it up willingly, and follow thee.* From thence going into a Chamber with ſome Friends, and Servants he was advertiſed by the Commander in Chief, that he had till three a clock allowed him to prepare for death; for indeed the Scaffold was not ready, the people of the Town and Country generally refuſing to carry ſo much as a planck, or ſtrike a nail, or to lend any aſſiſtance to that work, their cry being generally in the ſtreets, *O ſad day, O woefull day, ſhall*

the

The right Honorable James Earle of Derby etc.

The Grenville Library

Earl of Derby *dye here*? many ſad loſſes have we had in this VVar, but none like unto this; for now the Ancient Honour of our Country muſt ſuffer here: And to add to his trouble, moſt of the Timber that built the Scaffold, was of the ruins of *Latham*-houſe; but nothing could alter his Lordſhips relation and courage: for with a ſtedfaſt compoſed countenance, and a cheerful, he called the company which were preſent to prayers with him, wherein he ſhewed admirable fervency, and a kind of humble importunity with Almighty God, that he would pardon his ſins, be merciful to his Soul; and be gracious to this Land, in reſtoring the *King*, *Law* and *Liberty*; and that he would be a *Husband* to his *Wife*, a *Father* to his *Children*, and a *Friend* to all thoſe that ſuffered by his *Loſſe*, or that had been Friend to him.

Riſing from prayer, he ſate down with a very pleaſing countenance, and aſſured the ſtanders by, that God had heard his prayes, which the bleſſed Spirit of God witneſſed unto him, in the preſent Comforts he now felt in his Soul. Then he entred into a diſcourſe of his life, and beſeecht God to forgive him the dayes and time he had miſ-ſpent, and ſaid it was his Comfort, that although he had not walked ſo circumſpectly as he ought to have done, yet he ever had a ſenſe of his ſins, and a tender reſpect to all the Services, Servants and Ordinances of his God; and that he knew God had mercy for him, that he had ſtrengthened and comforted him againſt all the terrours of death.

After theſe and ſome other words to this purpoſe, he deſired his friends and the people by, to pray with him again; which when he had ended, riſing from his knees, he appeard fully ſatisfied of gracious return to his prayers, and never after ſhewed any ſadneſs in his countenance.

His next buſineſs was with his Son the Lord *Strange*, whom he publickly charged to be *dutiful* to his *ſad Mother*, *affectionate* to his diſtreſſed Brothers and *Siſters*, and *ſtudious* of the Peace of his *Country*: But *eſpecially* (ſaid he) *Sons, I charge you upon my Bleſſing, and upon the Bleſſings you expect from God to be ever dutiful to your*

distressed **Mother**, *ever obedient to her commands and ever tender how in any thing grieve or offend her: She is a person well known to the most eminent Personages of* England, France, Germany & Holland, *noted for Piety, Prudence and all honourable Vertues, and certainly the more you are obedient to her, the more you will encrease in favour with God and men.*

Then he desired to be private in the room himself; where he was observed to be about an hour upon his knees with frequent interjections of groans and sighs before his God: Then when he called the company in again, his eyes witnessed to us, that he had abundantly mixed *Tears* with his *Prayers*; he told us that he was very willing to leave the World, being assured by the Testimony of Gods Spirit, that he should be carried from Trouble, to Rest and Peace, from sorrow to Joy, from Life to Death, and that Death had no other bitterness in it to him, but that it took him him from his dear Wife and Children; whom he *humbly* commended to the Protection and Providence of a better *Husband*, and a better *Father*; and that yet he did not doubt, but that the General, and they who sat in the seat of Authority, would make provision for them, hoping that his death might satisfie all those who sought his life, whom he freely forgave, and desired God to do the like. Then calling for his Son, he took his leave of him, and blessed him; which indeed would have grieved any ones heart (though never so hardened) to see the parting of him now with his Son, and with his two Daughters, the Lady *Katharine*, and the Lady *Amely Stanley*, upon the road betwixt *Chester* and *Bolton* the day before.

This ended, he called the Officer, and told him he was ready. In his way to the Scaffold, the people prayed, and wept, and cryed aloud, to whom his Lordship with a cheerfull countenance, and courteous humbleness said *Good people, I thank you, and I beseech you still pray for me, and our blessed Good return your prayers back into your own bosomes: The God of Mercies bless you, the Son of God establish you in righteousness and the Holy Ghost fill you with all comforts*——Coming near the

the Scaffold, he looked up and said, God, I *am not afraid to go up here, though I am to dye there; there are but these few steps to my eternity*: Then kissing the ladder he went up and saluted the people, he walked a turn or two upon Scaffold, and went to the East end of the Scaffold, and pulled off his hat again and saluted the people with a cheerful countenance, said —— I am come by the will of my heavenly Father to dye in this place, and I thank God I do with willingness and readiness submit to his most blessed will.

'Tis a place I desired to see when I was last in the Country, both for the mutual obligations that have been betwixt this Town and my Family, and also for your particular respects to me, whom I have understood to be ready to clear me from that foul imputation, That I was a man of blood; and that particularly, I killed one *Bootle* here in cold blood: I doubt not but there are here many men present, both that day this Town was taken and divers other times during this war, that can justifie I preserv'd many lives; but I know there is not any *one present* that can lay the *blood* of any *man* whatsoever to *my charge*, unless that might casually happen in the fury and heat of a Battel; and why I dye in this Town, I know not, unless it be to perswade the Nation that I fall a sacrifice for that blood which some said I shed here, from which I am acquitted before you, and from which I had also cleared my self before my Grand Judges at *Westminster*, had they pleased to hear me, before they had destroyed me; that report being hastily brought up among them, by some that *I* hope God hath forgiven, and too readily drunk in by others, whom I pray God to forgive. As for my crime (as some are pleased to term it) which was objected against me by the Council of War (for Bootle's death, was never mentioned against me there, that being onely secretly used to raise a prejudice against me in the judgements of such as did not know me) my crime (I say) though I hope it deserves a far better name, was, that I came into my own Country with my own lawful King; I

 came

came in obedience to his Majesties call, whom both by the Laws of God, and the Laws of this Land, I conceived my self obliged to obey, and according to the *Protestation* I took in Parliament in the time of that blessed Prince his Father; so if it be my crime, I here confess it again before God, Angels and Men, *that I love Monarchy as the best Government*, and I die with Love and Honour: and for the Love and Honour I bear to my *Master*, that now is, *Charls* the second of that name, *whom I my self in this Country proclaimed King*, the Lord bless and preserve him, and incline the hearts of those that have power in this Nation, to accept him to his Fathers Throne with Honour and Peace, for certainly as I believe, this Nation will never be well contented, never throughly happy without a King, so I believe also, that King *Charles* the second, our now lawful King were a Stranger to this crown, were the most fit, and most accomplisht Prince that this day lives, to take the government of this people, his admirable Piety, Virtue, Justice, great Valour and Discretion, far above so few years, doth now make him in all places he comes highly beloved, and will hereafter make him honourable among all Nations, and I wish the people of this Nation so much happiness (when my eyes are closed) that he may peaceably be receiv'd to the enjoyment of his just right, and then they shall never want their just rights, which till then, they will always want.

As for my being in arms in the beginning of this war, I profess here in the presence of my God, before whom within a few minutes I must make an account for this profession, I only fought for peace, and setling the late King my Master in his just rights, and the maintenance of the laws of this Land, and that I had no other design, intent or purpose for my then taking up arms: and for this last ingagement, I profess here again in the presence of the same God, that I did it for the restoring of my lawful Soveraign into that Throne out of which his Father was most unchristianly and barbarously taken by the most unjust sentence of a pretended Court of Justice, and himself against Law and

nd disposest of; and this was all my reason. For a state or quality, I wanted not a sufficient competency, neither was I ever ambitious to enlarge either for by the favour of the Kings Predecessors, my family was raised to a condition well known in this Country and now is well known, that by his enemies I am adjudged to dye, and that by *new and monstrous Laws*, as making me an enemy to my Country; as a Traytor to the Laws, for endeavouring to preserve the Laws: But, *Oh! God give me grace to consider him, who suffered such contradictions of sinners, and O my God, assert the King to his Fathers Throne, assert the Laws to their former honour, and restore thy own Religion in its purity, that all these shadows and false pretences of Religion may vanish away, and our childrens posterities may serve thee in spirit and in truth.*

Good friends, I dye for the * *King*, the Laws of the Land, and the Protestant Religion maintained in the Church of *England* all which as I was ready to maintain with my life so I cheerfully suffer for them in this welcome death

* *At which words King & Laws, a Troper said aloud, we will neither have King Lord, nor Laws: and upon a sudden the Souldiers being either surprized with fear at a strange noise that was heard, or else falling into mutiny, presently fell into tumult, riding up and down the streets, cutting and slashing the people, some being killed and many wounded; his Lordship looking upon this sad spectacle, said thus, Gentlemen it troubles me more then my own death, that others are hurt and (I fear) dye for me; I beseech you stay your hands, I flye not, you pursue not me, and here are none to pursue you. But being interrupted in his speech, and not permitted to go on any further (for which the Officers were much troubled) he turned aside to his servant, and gave him the Speech into his hand, saying I will speak to my God, whom I know will hear me, and when I am dead, let the World know what I would have said. Here his Lordship was interrupted: but it was as follows, in his Copy under his Hand.*

I am sentenced to death by a Councill of VVar, after quarter for life, and assurance of honourable and sage usage by Captain *Edge*, I had reason to have expected the Councill would have justified my Plea, which hath been *Ancient* Honourable, Sacred and Unviolable, untill this time that I am made the first suffering *President*; for I dare affirm it, that never Gentleman before in any Chhristian Nation was adjudged to death by a Councill of War after quarter given, I am the first, and I pray God may be the last *Precedent* in this case: I must dye, and I thank God *I* am ready for it: Death would now be my choice, had I the whole world in competition with it. I leave nothing behind me that I much care for. but my King, my VVife, my Children, my *Friends*, whom (I trust) the enever failing mercies of my God, will provide for: I brseech God shew mercy to those who neither had mercy or justice for me; my blessed *Saviour* taught me by his Example and Command, both to pray for my enemies, and to forgive my enemies: I forgive them freely, even those that contrived my ruine, and pursued me to death; I thank God, I never personally offended them to my knowledge in my life, & let me not offend against them at my death; I forgive them freely, and pray God for Christs sake to forgive them truly.

Of my faith and Religion, I shall not (I hope) need to say much, herein I hope my enemies (if now I have any) will speak for me. I professe my faith to be in God onely, from whom I look for my salvation, through the precious merits and sufferings of my blessed Jesus Christ, which merits and sufferings are applyed to my soul, by the blessed Spirit of comfort, the Spirit of God by whom I am assured in my own Soul, that my God is reconciled unto me in Jesus Christ my blessed Redeemer.

I dye a dutiful son to the Church of *England*, as it was established in that blessed Prince my late masters Reign which all men of Learning and Temperance will acknowledge to be the most pure and agreeable to the VVord of God, and primitive Government of any Church within 12 or 1300 years since Christ & which

to my great comfort) I left eſtabliſhed in the *Iſle of Man*; God preſerve it there, and reſtore it to this Nation.

And O bleſſed God: I magnifie thy Name, that thou gaveſt me the happineſs and mercy to be born in a *Chriſtian* Nation, and in a Nation where thy truth was profeſſed in purity: With honour to thy name, and comfort to thy people, I aſcribe the comforts of thy Holy Spirit which I feel in my boſome, to the *Miniſtry* of thy Word and Sacraments conveyed unto me in thy *Church*, and made effectual by the operation of the ſame bleſſed Spirit. In this Faith, good people, I have lived, and in this I dye, pray for me I beſeech you, and the God of mercies hear your prayers and my my prayers, for mine and your ſalvation.

Preſently after the tumult was over, his Lordſhip called for the Headſman, and asked to ſee the Ax, and taking it in his hand ſaid, *Friend, I will not hurt it, and I am ſure it cannot hurt me*; and then kiſſing it ſaid, *Methinks this is as a Wedding Ring, which is a ſign I am to leave all the World, and eternally to be married to my Saviour.* Then putting his hand in his pocket, ſaid to the Headſman, *Here Friend, take theſe two pieces, all that I have, thou muſt be my Prieſt, I pray thee do thy work well and effectually*; Then handling the rough furr'd coat the Headſman had on, *This* (ſaies he) *will be troubleſome to thee; I pray thee put it off, and do it as willingly as I put off this garment of my fleſh, that is now ſo heavy for my ſoul*, then ſome of the ſtanders by bid the Headſman kneel, and ask his Lordſhip pardon? but he did not, but was ſurly and crabbed: but his *Lordſhip* ſaid, *Friend, I give thee the pardon thou wilt not ask, and God forgive thee alſo*: Then turning up his eyes to Heaven ſaid aloud, *How long Lord? how long?* then gently paſſing over the *Scaffold*, and ſeeing one of his *Chaplains* on horſeback among the people, *Good Sir* (ſaid he) *pray for me, and the Lord return your prayers into your own boſome, and I pray remember me kneeling to your Brother, and God remember him for his love to me and mine.*

Then turning towards his *Coffin*, *Thou art* (said he) *my bridal Chamber, in thee I shall rest without a guard, and sleep without Souldiers.*

Then looking towards the block, he asked if all were ready, *That* (said he) *methinks it is very low, and yet there is but one step betwixt that and heaven*; then turning his eyes to the people, he saluted them, and desired again their prayers; then said, *I see your tears, and hear your sighs and groans, and prayers; the God of Heaven hear and grant your supplications for me, and mine for you, and the Mediation of Christ Jesus for us all.*

Here his Lordship caused the block to be turned, that he might look upon the Church saying, *Whilst I am here, I will look towards the holy Sanctuary, and I know that within a few minutes, I shall behold thee my God and King in thy Sanctuary above, under the shadow of thy wings shall be my rest till this calamity be over past*: then he pulled off his blew garter, and sent it to his Son, and pulling off his doublet, with a very religious cheerfulness he said, *I come, Lord Jesus, and O come thou quickly, that I may be with thee for ever*; upon this he said, *Pray tell me how must I lye, I have been called a bloody man, yet truely I never yet had that severe curiosity to see any man put to death in peace*; then laying himself down on the block, after a few minutes he rose again, and caused the block to be a little removed; then said to the Heads-man, *Friend, remember what I said to thee*: *and be no more afraid to strike then I to dye*; and when I *put up my hand, do thy work*; so looking round about upon his friends and the people, he said, *The Lord bless you all, and once more pray for me and with me*; at which words he kneeled down and prayed privately within himself, with great sighings, about half a quarter of an hour, concluding with the Lords Prayer; then rising up again, he said (smilingly) *My soul is now at rest and so shall my body be immediately. The Lord bless my King, and restore him to his right in this Kingdom, and the Lord bless this Kingdom, and restore them to their rights in their King, that he and they may joyn hand in hand to settle truth and peace; and the Lord bless this Country, and this Town,*

and

and this People. The Lord comfort my ſad wife and children, and reward all my friends with peace and happineſſe, both here and hereafter, and the Lord forgive them who were the cauſe and authors of this ſad end and unjuſt death, for ſo it is as to mankind; though before God I deſerve much worſe, but I hope my ſins are all bathed in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

So having his neck upon the block, and his arms ſtretcht out, he ſaid theſe words.

Bleſſed be Gods glorious Name for ever and ever. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory, Amen, Amen.

At which words, he gave the Heads-man the ſign; but he either not obſerving it, or not being ready, ſtayed too long, ſo that his Lordſhip roſe up again, ſaying, VVhy do you keep me from my Saviour? what have I done, that I dye not, and that I may live with him! Once more I will lay down my ſelf in peace, and ſo take my everlaſting reſt. Then ſaying, *Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly.* He ſtretched out his arms and gave the ſign, repeating the ſame words

Bleſſed be Gods glorious name for ever and ever. Let the whole earth be filled with glory, Amen, Amen.

Then lifting up his hand, the Executioner did his work at one blow; all the people weeping and crying, with all expreſſions of grief and lamentation.

When the Corps were carried off the Scaffold, they carried them to the houſe in the Town, where was thrown into his Coffin in a piece of paper theſe two lines.

Vpon *JAMES* Earl of *DERBY*.

Bounty, Wit, Courage, *all* (*here*) *in one lye dead,*
A Stanleys *hand*, Veres *heart*, *and* Cecil's *head.*

The

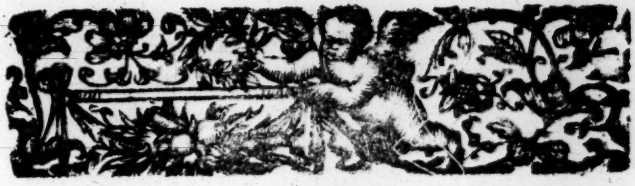
The Sentence of the Council of War.

Reſolved by the Court upon the Court.

That *James* Earl of *Derby* is guilty of the breach of the Act of the 12 *of Auguſt*, 1651. laſt paſt, entituled *An Act probibiting correſpondence with* Charles Stuart or his party, and ſo of High-Treaſon againſt the Common-VVealth of *England*, and is therefore worthy of death.

Reſolved by the Court.

That the ſaid *James* Earl of *Derby* is a Traytor to the Common-VVealth of *England*, and an abettor, encourager and aſſiſter of the declared Traytors and enemies thereof, and ſhall be put to death by ſevering his head from his body, at the Market place in the Town of *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*, upon *Wedneſday* the 15 of this inſtant *October*, about the hour of one of the Clock the ſame day.



The HISTORY of Colonell *Euſebius Andrews.*

Euſebius Andrews a Colonell in the Kings Army, the War being ended, betakes himſelf to the Profeſſion of the Law, wherein he was bred. His Worth and Eminent Loyaltie render him Obnoxious to the deſigns of the State againſt him. Their Engines, Major Bernards (*formerly an Offieer under him*) Smith *and others betray him. He is beheaded by the Sentence of their High Court of Juſtice.* Bernards *not long after is hanged for* Robbing *and* Burglary.

OF all thoſe ways of deſtruction, wherein the Devill leads Mankind to the ruine of one another, none is more pernicious then the crooked hidden path of Treachery, where as ſecurely as ſecretly he placeth his ambuſhes of death. The Serpent is here in his proper poſture, in his windings and inſinuations, compaſſing his prey within his killing circles, out of which no charms of mercy or compaſſion can relieve the unwary innocent. Thus is it when under the deſigns of friendſhip, and ſome indeared familiarity, which any vertue hath cemented, malice obtrudes it ſelf, and by all Artifice corruption of perſons, to be Agents and inſtruments o her cruelty, effects and brings to paſſe her moſt ſcelerate and delectable practices and murders, a very exemplary inſtance, whereof we may ſee in this enſuing dolefnl Tragedy.

During

during the late unnatural war between his Majesty and the Parliament at *Westminster*, among many right Noble and loyal Gentlemen, whose obeysance and duty animated them to the peril and danger of the war; taking from it repose of Arts and studies, to which so propitiously nature had inclined them, and in which they had made so eminent a proficiency. This Gentleman known by the name and stile of *Eusebius Andrews* of *Grayes Inne* Esquire a Barrester at Law, was most conspicuous and remarkeable, with what singular valour, prudence and integrity he served that most incomparable Prince throughout the whole time of that bloody Contest; his and his most just causes Adversaries, too well remembred. Nothing therefore should be spoken of it here more but onely to give you notice, that having by his merit ascended to the Dignity and Command of a Collonel under his Majesty, he was assisted by one *Bernards* as his *Major* in the Regiment, who also gave proof of courage and honesty sufficient during the service, which maintained and preserved a good correspondency afterwards between them; till *Money* and a loose necessitous life, betrayed *Bernards* to the worst of Treasons proving false at one time to his Friend and Soveraign. It must not be omitted, both for the honour of Collonel *Andrews* and the better light to the reasons inducing the Council of State then to fasten on him, that he was preferred by the King formerly to be Clark of the Crown in *Ireland*, and after was invited by my Lord *Capel* (that glorious loyal *Martyr*) to be Secretary towards the conclusion of the war, when that Noble man was chief Counsellour to the Prince of *Wales*, his now Majesty whereby he was admitted into a nearness, and communication of those Counsels and affairs which related to the King: which great trust as he wisely and gallanty discharged to his glory, so the eximiousness of his place and person altered the jealousie and suspition of the state on him, to his ruine. This is enough to be said of him here without repeating him from his Originals (Honou-

rable

rable every way) for we write not by life but his death.

That was compaſſed on this manner, *Barnards* the war ended as was ſaid before living in a moſt debaucht lewd courſe of life; and being reduced to a pinching fortune, was ſoon light upon and taken up by the Parliament flies thoſe Trapans or ſpirits of ſtate, then employed every where for gaining intelligence. Theſe men eaſily with money and future promiſes drew over *Barnards* to be a ſpy and a ſetter, upon the Royal party, and becauſe of his relation to the Collonel, the juſt plot was laid againſt; the contrivance whereof was as followeth.

That no ſuſpition might enter into the minde of the Collonel as it might if on a ſuddain, they had ſtarted the deſign, *Barnards* long before frequent his company venting his diſcontents againſt the power, then in being to which the Collonel (as his judgement byaſſed him) lent no unwilling ear.

This opening the way to a cloſer overture, wherein *Barnards* intimated that a general deſign was on foot for the reſtoring his Majeſty (that now is) and that moſt of the Nobility were privy and patakers in it, and that indeed it lackt nothing but ſo able a perſon as himſelf to manage the buſineſs to a ripeneſs; to that purpoſe he then nominated many great perſons, among whom as chief was Sir *John Gell* a perſon that had in the war been very active againſt the King. The concluſion of that meeting was, that by ſubſcription the deſign ſhou'd be carried on, and that when the mony and arms agreed on were ready the enterſute ſhould be put in execution, and there withal that Province was laid upon the Collonel (a meeting being afterwards contrived between him and the ſecond Sir *John*) to get his ſubſcription, which Sir *John* refuſed to do but ſaid he would at any time be ready to do the King his uttermoſt ſervice when preſent, and further would not be drayvn to ſay.

VVhen

Then they see they could not by him entrap Sir *John*, he with others came and dispatch of their business, told him; that if he had no more haste the business would be done without him and that he the said *Barwards* would go presently over to the King, and acquaint him what forwardness his affairs were, in if not neglected, which would sound little to his honour.

The next day after they pressed him again told him, at the three Cranes by the *Savoy*, whereby they met with *Smith* and others that 200 *l.* was ready for a present occasion they had projected themselves, and that the *Buckingham-shire* and *Kentish* Gentlemen were in a readiness expecting what would be done, whereupon it was advised; there coming then a Proclamation out to Command all Cavaliers to depart *London* and twenty miles beyond, for him to go for *Gravesend* (the Collonel intending there to go into *Norfolk* to some Clients, whose business he had undertaken for setling and conveying of estates if according to promise of the mony, which they had failed in twice, neither it nor the Gentlemen above said should meet him) where a randezvous was appointed. As soon as he came thither he was seized on by a Troop of Horse sent from *London* to the very place he lodged in, and presently brought before a Committee of Examinators where finding he was betrayed from the very first Commencement of the design he thought it most generous not to deny it, using then these sentences.

Quos

Quos perdi vult Jupiter *hos prius dementat*

More uſually this

Fiat voluntas Dei *modo ruina mea,*

VVHich He *always ſubſcribed to his Examination and to his Pleas, which were very learned: and whereby he put the Authority and Juriſdiction to a puzzle, but they over-ruled him with their power, and finally Sentenced him to Death, by vertue and colour of a pretended Act*, Againſt holding and maintaining a Correſpondence with the KING, *Which accordingly was Executed, by Beheading him on* Tower-Hill.

Where He ſpake as Followeth;

AS ſoon as he came upon the Scaffold, kiſſing the Block, he ſaid, I hope there is no more but this Block between me and Heaven. And to the Lieutenant of the Tower, I hope I ſhall neither tire in my way, nor go out of it.

After a little while, turning to the rail of the Scaffold he ſpake thus

Chriſtian Gentlemen and people,

YOur buſineſſe hither to day is to ſee a ſad Spectacle a Man in a moment un-named and cut off in the prime of his years, taken from further opportunities of doing good either to himſelfe, his friends, or the Com-

mon

mon-Wealth, or especially to God it seldom happens, but upon very good cause. And truly if my general course of life were but enquired into I may modestly say, there is such a moral honesty upon it as some many be so sawcy as to expostulate this great judgement is fallen upon me; but know I am able to give a better account of my judgement and execution then my judges themselves or you are able to give; It is Gods wrath upon me for sins long unrepented of many judgements withstood and mercies slighted, therefore God hath whipped me by his sore rod of Correction, that he might not lose me. I pray joyn with me in prayer that it may not be a fruitless rod, that when by this rod I have laid down my life, by this staff I may be comforted and received into glory. By what I have heard since my sentence there are more exceptions made against proceedings against me then ever I made; my Tryers had a Law, and the value of that Law, is indisputable and for me to make a question of it I should shame my self and my discretion. In the strictness of that Law something is done by me that is applicable to some clause therein for which I stand condemnable? the means whereby I was brought under the interpretation of that which was not in my self intended maliciously, being testimony given (by persons whom I pity) so false yet so positive that I cannot condemn my Judges for passing sentence against me according to legal justice, for equity lyeth in higher breasts.

As for my accusers or master betrayers I pity and am sorry for them they have committed Judas his crime but I wish and pray for them *Peters* tears, that by *Peters* repentance they may escape Judas his punishment, and I wish other people so happy they may be taken up betimes before they had drunk up more blood of Christian men possibly less deserving then my self.

It is true, there have been several Addresses made for mercy, and I will put the obstruction of it upon nothing more then upon my own sin, and God sees it fit

fit having not gloryfied him in my life, I might do it my death, I am ſo contended to do. I profeſſe in the face of God, particular malice to any one of the State or Parliament to do them a bodily injury, I had none.

For the Cauſe which I had long waded in, I muſt needs ſay, my engagement or continuance in it hath laid no ſcruple upon my conſcience, it was no principles of Law, the knowledge whereof I profeſſe, and on principles of Religion, my judgement ſatisfied, my Conſcience rectified, that I have purſued thoſe ways which I bleſſe God I find no blackneſſe on my conſcience, nor have I put it into the bed-Role of my ſins.

I will not preſume to decide controverſies, I deſire God to honour himſelf in proſpering that ſide that hath right with it, and that you may injoy peace and plenty, when I ſhall injoy peace and plenty, beyond all you poſſeſſe here, in my converſation in the VVorld, I do not know where I have an enemy with cauſe, or that there is ſuch a perſon whom I have to regret, but if there be any whom I cannot recollect under the notion of Chriſtian men, I pardon them all as freely as if I had named them by name. I freely forgive them, being in peace with all the world, as I deſire God for Chriſts ſake to be at peace with me. For the bitterneſſe of death is a ſad ſentence in it ſelf, if men conſult with Fleſh and blood; but truly I ſay without boaſting, if I do boaſt it is in the Lord, I have not to this minute had one conſultation with the fleſh about the blow of the Axe or one thought of the Axe, more then as my paſſe-port to glory.

I take it for an honour, and I owe thankfulneſſe to thoſe under whoſe power I am, that they have ſent me hither to a place, however of puniſhment yet of ſome honour to dye a death ſomewhat worthy of my blood, anſwerable to my birth and qualification; and this courteſie of theirs hath much helped towards the pacification of my mind.

I ſhal deſire God that thoſe Gentlemen in that ſad Bead-roll to be tried by the *High* Court of Juſtice, that they may find that really there that is nominal in the Act, an

High Court of justice, a Court of justice high in its righteousnes, though not in its severity. *Father forgive them, and forgive me as I forgive them.*

I desire you now that you would pray for me, and not give over praying till the hour of death, not till the moment of death for the hour is come already; that as I have a great load of sins, so I may have the wings of the prayers to help those Angels that are to convey my soul to Heaven; and I doubt not but I shall see my Saviour, my gallant master the King of *England*, and another master whom I much Honoured my Lord *Capel* hoping this day to see my Christ in the presence of the Father, the King in the presence of him my Lord *Capel* in the presence of them all, and my self there to rejoyce with other Saints and Angels for evermore.

As to his Religion he said, there lyeth a common imputation upon the Cavaleers that they are Papists, and under that name we are made odious to those of the contrary opinion. I am not a Papist but renounce the Pope with all his dependencies; The religion which I profer is that which passeth under the name of Protestant, though that be rather a name of distinction then properly essential to Religion. But the Religion which was found out in the Reformation purged from all the errors of *Rome* in the raign of *Edward* the sixth practised in the raign of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* and King *Charles* that blessed Prince deceased, that Religion, before it was defaced, I am of, which I take to be Christs Catholick though not the *Roman* Catholick Religion in the profession and practice whereof I will live and dye.

Then taking his leave of the Doctor that attended him and the rest of his friends and the Sheriffs, he kissed the Axe, and laid down to the block and at his sign given, the Executioner struck off his head at one blow.

Thus fell a Noble Gentleman a devout Christian a zealous Protestant and a dutiful subject by the mercenary perjuries & snares of a vile sort of men, when we

ſhall now ſee the dern juſtice ſpeedily paſſing in a regular & moſt exact method to his glory and their ſhame and confuſion. For this *Barnards*, who ſo lately had proſtituted his confidence, in deſtroying his friend, by the unſearcheable ways of providence came ſhortly after to a moſt ignominious end. 'Tis true he received the wages of his wickedneſs from his blood thirſty maſters, and (as an invitation for other ſuch deſperate fellows to apoſtate from their loyalty, and to involve their own party in mine by their machinations) was made Captain of the Troop of horſe then in *Scotland*, where he continued a while that Command. But *Cromwel* having turned out, that Monſter of a free-ſtate and put an end to their Tyranny, he as an unfit perſon and as uſeleſs, (being ſo well known, that all men of any honour avoided him) and that moreover he owned his preferment to his Patrons of a Common-Wealth, was judged unſecure and dangerous to be continued in that quality any longer where upon he was diſmiſſed, and ſo returned to *London*, where he began his old vicious courſes, which ſoon deceived him of that mony he had got by ſelling the life of this Collonel and ſo forced into his old ſhifts of borrowing as long as his credit or oaths would do it, being rejected and feared by all men, as the common poſt or band of ſociety, he betook himſelf to theevery in which (after ſome other little attempts) he was taken for a Burglery committed on the houſe of Collonel *Winſhorp* at *Weſtminſter*, Collonel in the ſame Regiment where he had his Troop in *Scotland*, (where ſignally may we note how God repayed and retaliated, his villanous murder upon his firſt Collonel by a fellonous robbery of his laſt.) For which fact he was indited at the Seſſions houſe in the Old Bayly, where moſt impudently he denyed the Fact, but upon clear proofs and evidence againſt him the Jury found him guilty and the Court paſſed ſentence that he ſhould be hanged for the ſame. After his condemnation he turned for a reprieve pretending ſome more diſcoveries to *Cromwel*

and laying before them his good ſervice, for which he was reſpited 2 days, but not being able to make good his word to thoſe Examiners that were ſent to him, he was Executed according to his judgement at Tyburn, ſo far from relenting and confeſſing, that you ſee he would have made uſe of the ſame bloody Artifices, to have prolonged his wretched life. God making his ſin his greateſt and moſt ſevere puniſhment: We need not adde here the end of ſome of his other betrayers and enemies, as *Mr. Scot*, who firſt examined him and made up his Charge, they having anſwered for other things at a Barre here, and for this at Heavens Tribunal.

The odiouſneſſe of this monſtrous crime of Treacheachery is ſo great (though the ill natured neſſe of this laſt age through ſome maligne influences hath much abounded, and for which thoſe that are privily guilty to themſelves; as well as ſuch as have been detected of betraying their friends of the Royall Party, ought ſeriouſly and earneſtly to repent (and ſuch a Bugbear ſin, that it is dreadful enough of it ſelf to fright us from it: but here we may ſee more horrour and uglineſſe added to it by Gods ſpecial abhorrence and detectation of it, manifeſted in the footſteps of his vengeance, wherein he traced this falſe and wicked man to his daſerved end. Yet his ſad example be a caution and Leſſon to all looſe and profane men, whoſe incommunicabilty with vertue and goodneſſe muſt needs breed a ſtrangeneſſe and alienation of affection in the longeſt contracted friendſhip.

Earle of Montros

Sold by P Stent

The Life, Death, and Tragical Execution of the ever renowned *James Graham*, *Marquess* of *Montross*, Earl of *Kincardine*, &c.

OF all the impotencies of malice and revenge, there is not in History any such relation, as this touching the death of this famous and most noble person. Ambition, advantage and interest have been the usual incentives to such outrages; but in the violent and deplorable end of this *Hero* there cannot be seen the foottteps of any the aforesaid inducements, no nor so much as of the worst revenge that ever yet was taken by consent and designment of so many. If we consider him, we shall find him to be the most approvedst, valientest Loyal subject the *Scotch* Nation ever bred; if we consider his enemies we shall find many of them to have been Nobles, learned and able men; if we consider the times he lived in, they were full of trouble and danger, if the state, in as great turbulency as those times and its own prevalent corruption could make it, so that *Scotland* had never more need of Gallant resolute and knowing men to steere and assist her in those tumultuary Seas which the Volge swelled by the rage of a mad Clergy had raised in that Kingdom; if we again consider his enemies in the same times and state of affairs we shall find them doing all they could, their very uttermost, to embroyle and confound their own Countre, yand at last reduced it by their devisions and separations of their fellow subjects, under the yoak of the *English* Common-Wealth, whom before they had so powerfully assisted in their rebellion against both of their lawful Soveraigns; a crime in them so much the more ugly and abhorred because it was so unnatural.

This

This is it alone which abates the wonder of this perpetration upon the life and dignity of this Marquess, as lesser faults are extenuated by greater; and therefore leaving the guilt among the complices and confederates in it till the conclusion of this doleful Tragedy, we will particularize the most memorable passages of this honourable persons story, till his *exit*.

He was born and descended of one of the most ancienst noble families in *Scotland*, one of his great Ancestors having been the Champion and restorer of his Country, and much celebrated for many illustrious actions in the *Scotch Chronicles*, having been Regent or some such supream Officer in that Kingdom during the disputes for that Crown betwixt *Bruce* and *Bayliol*, From that time his family continued in great luster, with the title of *Montross*, which in this person was advanced to a Marquisate by his worthy atchievements, the ancient splendor of his house being not only equalled but gloriously surpassed. To his other dignities this being added. *The Kings governour General of his Kingdom of Scotland*, Tantamount to the same eminency of that his famous progenitor.

In the beginning of the *Scotch* troubles he was thought to be very forward with the rest of the Nobility in the business of the pretended reformation, and upon the raising of arms there by the Covenanters, was made a Brigadeer with a Command over 2500 Horse and Foot, which he passed first of all the *Scotch* army over *Tweed* in the year 1639. and that the better to amuse the Grandees of the Rebellion, underhand maintaining intelligence with the King, and giving him an account of their proceedings.

After *Newcastle* taken by them in the year 1640 some jealousie was had of him by the Covenanters being led thereunto by some papers discovered which had either dropt or been taken out of the Kings pockets by Duke *Hamilton* or some of his confidents (that family being enemies and at feud with the Marquess) whereupon he and Lord *Napier*, were presently secured and imprisoned, but upon the pacification soon after concluded set again at liberty

soon after the war began to flame in *England* which had been kindled in *Scotland*, and the Parliament at *London* addrest themselves for supplies and assistance to their good brethren, of whom they had so lately well deserved in giving them 100000*l*. Whereupon the command of the Lieutenant General of the army which they had raised to march into *England* was proffered him notwithstanding those former proofs & evidences of his Loyalty to the King, which they thought to overweigh with this great trust and employment. But the Marques retaining those disgust at his late restraint, or not willing to palliate longer his dutiful respects to the King when his affairs required an open and strong assistance modestly refused their proffer, and presently after with my Lord *Ogilby* fled out of *Scotland* and came to the King at *Oxford*, where he discovered to the King the full intents of the Covenanters and that assuredly they would invade *England* in the beginning of the year 1644. VVith the contrary whereof Duke *Hamilton* had so possest with the King and the Queen, urging his own and his families influence upon the *Scotch* Parliament, that the King was totally surprized with this Alarum.

He obtained therefore of the King a Commission, the *Scotch* being entred *England* (according as he had said) to be Governour of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as also letters to the Marques of *Newcastle* to furnish him with men and Ammunition fit for such an expedition; but upon his address to the said Marques he could obtain no more then 100 horse and 2 field pieces, besides his letters mandating to his Officers in *Cumberland* and *Northumberland* to spare him vvhat men he could, vvhich amounted in all to 800 foot and 8 Troops of horse; vvith these forces the gallant Marques marched into *Scotland*, but in passing over the river *Anan*, the *English* mutined and forsook their colours, so that he vvas compelled to retreat to *Carlile* and there with those fevv Loyal *English* that stayed vvith him sent the Lord *Ogilby* to the King to acquaint him vvith vvhat had happened to the beginning of his enterprise never-

Nevertheleſs he reſolved not to give it over thus, but underſtanding that all ways and paſſages were ſo hard that it would be a difficult task for him by force to get into the *Weſt* of *Scotland*, where the Marqueſs of *Auſtin* was to land ſome 2000 *Iriſh*, to his aſſiſtance he determined to paſs diſguiſed in the company of two men, *Sibalds* whoſe man the Marqueſs went for, and ſo came ſafe to the houſe of his coſin *Patrick Graham* of *Inmiſſrak* in *Perthſhire*, where he had news of the aforeſaid *Iriſh* being 1100 landed in the Highlands whither he preſently marched, and whither came to him 200 men more out of *Athol*, with theſe the Marqueſs reſolved to attempt the Covenanters at *Perth* having by the way an addition of 500 men more under the Command of the Earl of *Kinpont*; near this City the Covenanters being 7000 in number, reſolved to fight him, whereupon inſued a battle in which they were totally overthrown 2000 ſlain, and more priſoners, and the City of *Perth* ſubmitted to the conquerer.

Forthwith the Marqueſs not ſtaying to attain any place purſued his fortune, and finding the Lord *Baleigh*; an other Covenanting General at *Aberdeen* gave him battle, overthrew him, & the vanquiſhing enemy runing into *Aberdeen*, his army pell mell entred with them and took the City, where he had not too dayes reſted but his ſcouts informed him that the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, his implacable enemy, was at hand with a greater army then any of the reſt, wherefore he retired, intending to paſs over the Spey, where another army awaited him; being thus beſet, he with too much care falls ſick but having ſome Caſtles to frend ſoon recovered, but yet no ſooner then through want of inteiligence and careleſneſs of ſcouts he found *Argyle* and *Latham* on his back, whrefore he kept himſelf in the hills till by the advantage of the night he eſcaped and though moſt of his prime ſouldiers forſook him got into *Athol* again, and there joyned with *Macdonnel*.

Being thus informed he follows *Argyle* unto his own Country which he baraſſed with fire and ſword and overtaking the ſaid *Argyle* at *Longhaber* though newly ſupplyed from the *Lowlands*, he totally routed him killing them for nine miles together, to the number of 1500. Many of *Argyles* family were herekilled, he himſelf ſaving his life by boat: From thence returning to *Brechin* he puts to flight a great party of horſe under *Hurry*, and then offered battle to *Henry Bayly* newly ſent for out of the *Scotch* army in *England* which was refuſed by that wary Commander; the Marqueſs finding his army to decreaſe retreated again to the mountains, but underſtanding that *Hurry* was marched to fall upon the Lord *Gordons* new levies to which purpoſe he was ſent by the Marqueſs, he reſolved to oppoſe him with all ſpeed, and to fight with the enemy now diſjoyned, having therefore met with the Lord *Gordon* he haſtened againſt *Hurry*, ſo ſtrengthened with the aſſiſtance of all the Country there abouts, that many began to think of retreating, when intelligence came that *Bayly* with a ſtronger army from the *South* had prepoſſeſt the hills, and therefore of neceſſity he choſe to fight with *Hurry*, whom after a cruel fight he vanquiſhed, 3000. Foot being ſlain the horſe ſaving themſelves by a baſe flight.

Bayley being now ſupplemented with the broken forces of *Hurry* and another reſerve from the Earl of *Lindſey* was at laſt drawn to a fight, though againſt his will by the raſhneſs of the Lord *Balcanis*, and after a moſt bloody battle was defeated at *Alford* 2 *July* 1645.

Upon this victory and the addition of other forces under the aforeſaid *Patrick Graham* and *Mac-Donnel* he marched directly into the heart of the Kingdom, frighting thereby the Parliament from their Seſſions at Saint *Johnſtons* near whereunto he had a conſiderable body of horſe joyned with him under the Earl of *Aboyn* and others: having found out the enemy he proffered them battle in that Champion country. After many traverſes and refuſals to fight, at laſt the Covenanters

Covenanters engaged at a place called *Kilſithfield*, where they received their greateſt and almoſt fatal overthrow, 6000 being ſlain on the place ſcarce a 100 foot eſcaped, the horſe fared little better, but their heels ſaved ſome, amongſt whom many of the Nobility who fled out of the *Kingdom* many wayes; the reſt ſubmitting to the Kings governour and taking part with him.

This famous victory reduced the whole Kingdom to its obedience, the victor being complemented by all the Cities in the Nation to admit them into his protection. Whereupon he marched to *Edenburgh* but the plague [raging therein (and having received ſome priſoners out of the Caſtle) and their ſubmiſſions and proteſtations] of future fidelity) marched by it with his army, with which reduced to a ſmal number by the going away of *Aboyn* and *Macdonnel* with 4000 or 5000 of his beſt men, he entered into *Annandale* and *Niddiſdale*, where he was on part recruited with ſome forces from the Marquiſs of *Douglaſs*, his whole army not amounting to above 600 foot and thoſe *Iriſh*, and ſome 200 new raiſed horſe, his Highland Officers petending for their abſence [that there was no ſhew of reſiſtance in *Scotland*, and that the army in *England* under *Leſhly* was at ſo great diſtance being then at *Hereford*, that they could well return before he or any part of his army could advance to him.

By this preſumptuous confidence (if not worſe) the Marqueſs was abandoned and left to that ill fortune which ſoon after followed. For *David Leſhly* being importuned to come to the reſcue of the *Kirk* out of *England*, made ſuch haſt that he was upon the Marqueſs with 6000 horſe before he had received any notice ſave onely what ſight at the diſtance of half a mile afforded him. He was then quartered with that ſmall army (which was well known to *Leſhly*) at *Selkirk*, from whence having ſuddenly mounted (being writing letters to the King at the ſame time) he drew his ſmall numbers as convenienly, and ſpeedily he could into order at a place called *Phillips Haugh*, but

Leſhly

Lesthley pressed so hard and so mightily ovepowred him, though some 120 horse, consisting most of Noblemen and Gentry in the right way twice repulsed him, and then were forced for want of reserves to flye, that the day was presently lost, the foot cut in pieces, the Marquesse himself (at first concluding to leave his life in the place, at last plucking up his heart to safer resolutions) hardly escaping out of the midst of his enemie with some of his foresaid horse, and from thence made away (carrying with him some prisoners, notwithstanding some prisoners into Athol and there vigoriously having received new levies to prosecute the war.

To this purpose he importunately solicited the Marquesse of Huntley to concurre with him effectually for the carrying on the Kings affairs; but he jealous of anothers greatnesse and honour could not comply to any purpose, and at last abruptly refused which in the end proved his own ruine, being beheaded soon after Montrosses departure of the Kingdome, which happened thus;

The King having been worsted in England and no hopes of raising another army, being in person besieged in Oxford, as the last and worst of remedies had put himself into the Scots hands then laying before Newe ark, upon his coming to them the first thing required of him was that he should send his commands to the Marquesse presently to disband and depare the Kingdome. Thus the King partly was compelled and partly willing to do, the one for a stronger obligation on the Scots whom he was forced to trust, the other for a generall peace which they should see he would endeavour to attain, though with so apparent diminutions of his strength, which then rested wholly in the Marquess and accordingly upon receit of these Commands from the King, who had articled a Months time for his stay and provision, the obeyed disbanded his unwilling army, and prepared for his departure

But now the sublile and cruel malice of his enemies first appeared for it, having been agreed that the Parliament of Scotland should find him shipping, they deferred it till the very day before limited for his exile, and that Ship unrigged and unfit, as well unprovided of all necessaries. The Noble Marquesse therefore seeing this cruell practice of his enemies, which was to seize him as a Traytor, in not obeying the Command aforesaid; there lying some English Ships to intercept him at his designed place of embarquement, was forced to find out a bark that lay in the Haven of *Montrosse* and disguised as a servant to one Mr. *James Wood* his Chaplain in a Cock-boat, came aboard the said Vessell the 6. of *Sept.* 1646. and being so cleared of his enemies, he passed over into Norway and thence into France, where he was proffered the place Generall of all the StrangerForces in that Kingdome but through the malignity and hatred of Cardinal Mazarine to the whole Scotch Nation in general, it took no effect. And the like *Honorable* and brave Commands that were tendred him by the Emperour, but they were too farre distant; his mind bending still homeward.

Till the Kings death he continued this his peregrination, and then betook himself to his *Majetty*, *Charls* the II. at the Hague, where he was Nobly and according to his desert, welcomed by that Court. But the Scotsdriuing on a *Treaty* with the King whom they had Proclaimed, had by a particular Article debarred the *Marquesse* of returning home, that beingone of their pratillynaries which must be agreed on. He therefore fore-seeing the issue, before any conclusion should be made of that Treaty which was then in agitation; resolved presently with what forces he could get, which he was raising in Denmark, *Holsteyn* and Brandenburg; having procured shipping, and some mony by means of the *Queen* of *Sweden*, to transport himself into Scotland, and make better conditions both for his Majesty and himself.

Upon

Upon this design he imbarqued himself (though the ill Omen of the losse of 2. Ships with men and armes, might have deterr'd an indifferent resolution) but with the rest of his new raised company, and some Scotch Gentlemen who were ambitious of venturing their lives and fortunes with him, and arrived about July at *Cathnes* the furthest point Northward in *Scotland*, where he publisht a Declaration, protesting his coming was onely to the removing some persons who had bin instrumental in the death of the late King and were as stubborn and disloyal towards this; but the people stirred not onely stirred some few Islanders, who were ill armed, and worse trayned. He had scarce set footing in the Highlands, when the Van of the Scotch Army commanded by *Mr. Straughan* and David *Leshley* following him with 4000 horse, fel immediately upon him and routed his small Army, 200. were killed and 1300 taken; he himself for the present escaped cutting his way thorow. But after 3 days having changed cloaths with a Highlander was discovered and betrayed by the Lord *Aston* to *David Leshley*, who brought in triumph to *Edenburge*, where after many indignities and contumelies done to so great a person, they condemned him to be hanged upon a Gibbet 50 yards high, his body to be quartered and set upon 4. principal Gates of 4 chief Cities, which was done with the greatest ignominy and barbarity as ever the Christian World heard of, though he bore all their insultations with a most quiet and pleasant mind, asking them if they had no more disgrace (as they thought it) to put upon him; and then couragiously and yet meekly submitted himself to their cruelty.

Reader, For my part I am astonished at this salvagenesse, especially since it was chiefly committed by the chief of the *Kirk* Ministers and such like; but *quos perdere vult Jupiter hos prius dementat*, questionlesse, the men were mad; for see what a deluge of misery broke in upon them. The English Common-Wealth then so stiled in a short time utterly subverted both Church and State, captivating both in a most direfull manner,

to

the utter infamy and reproach of the Scotch Nation whom peradventure, and probably enough, GOD might have been pleased to rescue by the hand of this Right Valiant, Wise and Expert Captain. They have bitterly expiated his and other Noble blood spilt upon his score, and therefore I leave the Nation in general to a sad remembrance of it.

As to his particular Enemies, we have seen the Divine Vengeance satisfied upon some of them, the Marquesse of *Argyle* his closest and most mortal Foe, passing the same violent though not the same manner of Death: But *Guthrey* one who most bitterly inveighed against him at his death going the very same tract; and *Warriston* not yet sure to escape the Law, though for a time God may please to respite them: *Vindex sequitur a tergo Deus*—— and therefore speedy Confession of that inhumane guilt will be their onely and most consulted security.

We have seen for a conclusion and to eternize the memory of this Right Worthy *Hero*, the resuscitation of his honour (while his Enemies shall perish as the dung) in the solemn magnificent funerals of his scattered limbs before the illustrious presence of the Nobility of that Kingdome, of which, an account is already given

More Noble Blood of Scotch Royaliſts ſhed by the Covenanters of that Kingdome.

IN that diſaſter that befell this noble Heroe at *Philipshaugh* as is before mentioned, ſeveral gallant perſons were likewiſe involved, who had conſtantly followed his Majeſties Cauſe, and the Marqueſs his Fortunes. For in the purſuit of that rout, after a briſk charge made through the enemies horſe, the calamity of that day overtook, among others, the noble *Spotſwood*, ſon of Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, whoſe Fathers vaſt learning and rare accompliſhments having deſerved much of the Scottiſh Nation, he himſelfe added great obligations on it by his ſucceſſive worth & excellence in all the requiſite perfections of a man, ſo that the malice & envy that perſecuted him, have this excuſe for it, That his vertues were the adequate obiect thereof, about which thoſe furies are alwayes haunting. He was raiſed, from the beginning of our Civil War, to be Secretary of State to his Majeſty in that Kingdome in place of the Earl of *Lanerick*, which firſt of all begot that ſpight againſt him, which was never quenched, till with the laſt drop of his blood. He was beſides a perſon of invincible fidelity to his Prince, of extraordinary piety towards God, and of unblameable converſation among men, and nothing to be quarrelled at in that conſideration, but his accompanying the noble Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, and being great in his friendſhip and familiarity, which the Kings commands and that Heroes matchleſs attractions had indiſſolubly conciliated and cemented between them.

He was condemned by the Committee of Eſtates of that Kingdome, after a moſt iuſt and learned defence, where he declared, that what he had done was by his Majeſties their Soveraigns expreſs commands to him, and that he ſhould take it for an honour, and the beſt recompence to ſuffer for it, and that he was moſt ready and willing to undergo the ſevereſt

ſevereſt of their inflictions, which he well foreſaw his enemies would not be ſparing in Accordingly they proceeded to ſentence, which was, that he ſhould be beheaded by the Maiden, ſo the Ax is called in Scotland. On the day of his Martyrdome he marched to the place of his Execution, with ſo much Chriſtian and courageous ſweetneſs, that the ſpectators could not refrain from tears. After a ſhort pauſe upon the Scaffold, he began his Speech with ſo much clearneſs and elegancy, as if *Cicero* had been oratorizing again without any fear or hæſitation; among other remarkable ſentences herein, this was worthy of all memory, ſpeaking of the lamentable and ſad condition of that Kingdome, ſaith he, Of all the calamities and Judgements which God hath inflicted upon this Nation and Kingdome, there is none more ſad, heavy, and deplorable, than that God had ſent a lying ſpirit into the mouths of the Prophets, (meaning the Miniſters and Rabbies of the Kirk) who were the forwardeſt to the ſlaughter and butchery of the Loyal party, urging it as they did their Covenanted Rebellion, from holy Writ and Scriptural warrant, and ſo impoſed upon and deceived the people till in concluſion as we have ſeen they had brought themſelves and the Kingdome under the heavieſt and vileſt ſlavery imaginable.

After his Speech, he prepared for his Death, with a very cheerful Countenance, taking his farewel of all perſons, but not once minding or regarding the furiouſneſs of the Kirk, eſpecially *Blayre* the Miniſter; who were outragiouſly incenſed to hear themſelves ſo confidently and homely taxed of their ſeduction of the people, and therefore offered ſome diſturbance: But his ſoul informed with reaſon and right judgement, was ſufficiently fortified againſt all their malice; nor did he regard or value what injury they did his perſon, or could do his fame and memory, which ſoared a flight too high for thoſe Bats to reach. So having prepared himſelf for the fatal blow, kneeling down, he audibly ſaid —— *Lord gather my ſoul with the ſpirits of thoſe holy Saints and Martyrs that have run this race before me*, and then had his learned and prudent Head chopt off, to the great and ſad lamentation of all that ſaw this Tragical buſineſs.

His body one *Andrew Skrimiger*, ſometime his Fathers ſervant, took home to his own houſe, and ſoon after with a private, yet decent Funeral, carried it out to be buried; and not long after, himſelf going into the Town, and ſeeing the ſcaffold yet ſtanding where he was murthered, took ſuch a ſudden, ſtrong and unconquerable grief thereat, that returning home, Death ſeized him, and carried him to the fruition of his beloved friends company for ever.

The next of theſe Martyrs was young Mr *William Murrey*, the youngeſt Brother of the Earl of *Tulibardin*, a youth of incomparable courage and gallantry of minde, which he manifeſted as before in his Princes ſervice, ſo in this his ſuffering for his Prince. It brooked not therefore, that he was deſcended of ſo illuſtrious a Family, his Brother being then alſo a Covenanter; nor that he was of ſo tender an age: the Kirk was moſt inſolently cruel, having vanquiſhed *Montreſs* as before, who had put them into ſuch frights, and had made ſome notable Kirk Leaders, who perſiſted in their rebellion, examples of their crimes at *Glaſgow*.

The ſame Fate and Sentence therefore being pronounced againſt this young Gentleman, he was brought on the ſame ſcaffold, having the ſame reſolution of minde, and Chriſtian bravery as his Predeceſſor in this Martyrdome. He made a ſhort and a noble ſpeech, where with a lifted voyce he uttered theſe or the like particular words with a kind of Emphaſis;

Account it O my friends, for the greateſt honour, that a young man of the age of nineteen years, of the Houſe of Tulibardin, *comes to lay downe his life for the ſervice of his KING and Countrey.* And afterwards embracing his Friends, he meekly and quietly ſubmitted his neck to the Axe, and finiſhed his ſhort race, and arrived at a Crown of Glory freſh and unwearied.

Mr. *David Guthrey* ſon of the Biſhop of *Roſs*, expected, nor fared no better; he knew his Birth and Parentage was enough obnoxious to the cruelty of his Enemies, there needed no other Charge againſt him than his original guilt, as they termed it, which he drew from the loyns and the function of his Father: And therefore he little mattered

their

their cruelty; but having composed himself to a most christian expectation of Death, gratified though not satisfied the implacable thirst of blood. His end justifying him to the world, and the spectators, that he was not such a one whom the Kirk had scandalously spoke him to be, but a godly, religious, and conscientious person.

Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon* was next, a Gentleman, and Souldier, that was a Confederate of the Marquess of *Montrosse*, and accompanyed him in all his Enterprizes in that Kingdome: He was indeed a most loyal subject, and a most faithful vigilant Commander, and friend to *Montrosse*, and therefore the more odious to the Kirk, who thought to extend the punishment upon this person to the Marquess himself, well knowing what grief and sorrow it would cause in him, more acute than any pain these Martyrs could suffer; there ore he was marked also for destruction, and underwent the same bloody Execution with a truly militant christianity (being absolved of his Excommunication by the Kirk at his request,) reducing the Metaphor to the substance, and making it one and the same thing. His Employment and manner of Life had taught him death be ore, and his Religious demeanour the entertainment of it afterward.

I must omit the P sthumous sacrifices to the same loyal merit of the Marquesse of *Montrosse*, *viz.* Sir *William Hay*, of *Dalgesie*, Colonel *Sibbalds* both *Fidi Achates*, and Colonel *Harrey*, and some other noble p rsons, whom the Scotch Chronicles will duely Eternize.

IRISH Martyrs

AND hencewe must carry our sorrowful and weeping eyes to the adjacent dominion of *Ireland*, where though the Rebellion begun and was commenced by Irish Papists against the Kings authority, and by the guilt whereof many eminent good Protestants, and Loyal Subjects, were be-

reaved

reaved of their Lives and Eſtates, who may with good right claim, under the noble Earle o *Straffo rd*, their careful Lievtenant, the Title to the Crown of Martyrdome; yet it being continued and undertooke upon a worſer ſcore by the Parricides of *England*, who a like butchered and maſſacred thoſe Rebels; and the Kings Liege men: We will only difference thoſe that fell by their hands for Loyalty and perſevering Allegiance, rom thoſe that ſuffered for Religion and upon the ſcore of that National feud and quarrel, which gave occaſion o the firſt War.

And it will not be unneceſſary to the better light of this enſuing Tragedy to give a ſummary account of this Kingdome which participated æqually, if not more exceedingly, with the diviſions and conflagrations o this.

There were no leſſe then four Parties, or intereſts in that Kingdome, at the ſame time that my Lord Marqueſſe of *Ormond* was Commiſſioned Lord Lievtenant by the King in the year 1644. *Viz.* The Nuncioes, who ſet up the Papal, in oppoſition to the Royal Authority, and was compelled to renounce that and deſert the Kingdome ſometime after by my Lord *Inchiqueen* for the Presbeterian party of Parliament; the Lords *Taaf*, *Preſton* and *Muskery* for the confederate *Catholicks* a kind of neutrall between the Nuncios, and the Marqueſſe of *Ormond*, who alone aſſerted and ſuſtained the Kings authority againſt them all.

But after the murder of the King an invaſion being feared from hence, and an army ready to paſſe over to reduce that Kingdome under the tyrannycal uſurpation of the New Common wealth; the more prudent and Civil Iriſh, and the Rectified Engliſh of *Munſter*, of which the ſaid Lord *Inchiqueen* was Preſident, began to be think themſelves, of what preventional means there might be to withſtand this Common Enemy

Hereupon all but the Nuncio party ſubmitted upon certain Articles to my Lord Lievtenant, (whoſe return into that Kingdome they joyntly procured by their joynt Petitions to the Prince & Queen then at *Paris*) and ſo the Engliſh and Iriſh upon this new ſcore of Duty to their ſovereign, became obnoxious to the inſolence of a moſt cruel and barbarous Enemy

For

For *Dublin* Siege being raiſed by Col. *Jones* in a fortunate ſallev out of that City, by which the Kings fortunes (then deemed paſt diſpute in that Kingdome) were made very Deſperate and hazardous; *Cromwell* was now landed there alſo, and being eager to proſecute this firſt ſucceſſe, which had almoſt ſtunned the newly confederate Royaliſts before they ſhould take heart and repair this loſſe, marched directly towards *Drogheda*, then garriſoned with the Flower of the Royal Army moſt of the inveterane Engliſh under the government of Sir *Arthur Aſton*, formerly Governour of *Reading* and *Oxford*.

This is the Scene of theſe cruelties which concern the purpoſe of this Martyrology; For theſe noble Gentlemen and Souldiers relying upon their own valour, and the Fortune of the Place which had withſtood a more Formidable Enemy then *Cromwel* was ſuſpected to be, gave notice to the Lord Lieutenant, that he ſhould precipitate nothing for they would hold the Enemy play, till he was in a condition to fight and drive them out of the Kingdome. But *Olivers* ſtrength and treacherous Policy after a third ſtorme in one day prevailing upon the Regiment of Colonel *Wall* (ſlain in the defence of a Breach) by proffer of quarter; The Town was entred, and immediatly without any reſpect to his promiſe or *parole* Articles, his bloody Red-Coats were commanded to kill and ſlay all manner of Perſons, which they did for three dayes together, dragging out many from their hiding Places and immediately maſſacring them in cold blood. *Cromwell* was the more ſanguinous here, for that theſe were the choice and that he might get other places, by this terrible cruelty, to a ſpeedy rendition.

Here were ſlain three thouſand ſouldiers (very few eſcaping the fury of this ſlaughter; and there was one who being flung from the top of a ſteeple with others eſcaped by the Providence of breaking his Leg only, which was lookt upon as an argument for his preſervation from the ſword) together with the reſolute Governour Sir *Arthur Aſton*, Sir *Edmund Varney* ſon of the Kings ſtandard bearer ſlain at *Edge hill*, the Collonels *Finglaſſe*, *Tempeſt*, *Dun*, and other inferiour Offices; who were here made victimes and proper ſacrifices, for the Royal Cauſe. To omit the ſame barbarities done at *Wexford*, and ſome loyall Engliſh murthered there, who were put in as a

ſup-

ſupply to the Towns juſt betrayed by *Straffords* yielding up the Caſtle.

Not long after a party of my Lord *Inchiquens* Forces being met by my Lord *Broughil*, were defeated by him, and ſeverall Engliſh officers taken, and thereafter by *Cromwels* order and a ſentence of a Councel of War condemned to be ſhot as Revolters from the Parliament, to the ſervice of the King, which they had done as their duty requireth upon the foregoing reaſons, and ſeverall of them accordingly executed, the chief of whom as to this account was one Major *Sims*, who fearleſſely encountred his doom and juſtifyed his cauſe and his loyal ſervices to the Crown.

But I am eſpecially obliged to take notice of the honourable Colonel *Hamond* a Kentiſh Gentleman, engaged in that riſing in 1648, and at the Town of *Colcheſter* thereafter; who after a long impriſonment in *Windſor*, got his liberty and ſhipt himſelfe into *Ireland*, to purſue the kings quarrel in another of his Kingdomes; and was made according to his merit Colonel of the Regiment, which were the Foot Guards of his Excellence the Marqueſſe of *Ormond*: and by him upon *Cromwels* great ſucceſſe, put in to *Gouran* Caſtle with the ſaid Regiment, as a Garriſon and to defend it; but *Cromwells* fortune terrifying the amazed Souldiers, (after the ſummons refuſed by the reſolute Governour) they reſolved to accept of *Cromwells* offers, and forced him to treat, but then no other terms could be procured out of his cruelty and malice to this noble Colonel; But that the Officers ſhould be at diſcretion, the reſt to have their lives, and theſe the Colonel upbraiding the cowardize and villany of his ſouldiers, was forced to accept and expect death from the deliberate cruelty of his Enemies, and fall unrevenged, which accordingly came to paſſe, himſelfe with his Lievtenant and ſome others being immediately ſhot upon the rendition, where like his former noble comrades, Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle*, he defied the baſe malice of that ſavage and monſtrous fellow and his Party, and bid them do their worſt, for he was as ready to lay down his life for that cauſe, as they were ready to take it without any.

I could inſtance many more, but this Realm hath been ſuch a ſea of Bloods that I am loath to ingage the Reader further in it: theſe examples will ſerve for matter of grief, more then enough, and to ſhew how univerſal this calamity was upon the whole Royal party in the three kingdoms.

Sir *Henry*

Sir Henry Slingsby *Beheaded on* Tower Hill, *June* 8. 1658.

THE Life of this Noble Perſon hath been as ſummarily handled, in the Printed accounts of him, as he was compendious and brief in his death, to which with all chearful ſuddenneſs he addreſt himſelf upon the Scaffold: and therefore out of Juſtice to his Memory, it is duely fit a fuller account ſhould be given of him, and of his bringing to that fatal place, and to that purpoſe, this Poſtill or Appendix is allotted.

He was a *Yorkſhire* Gentleman, of a very ancient and ſplendid Family as any in that County, had been High-Sheriffe thereof, and throughout the war had courageouſly and cordially aſſiſted the King, from the beginning to the laſt, through all extremities and dangers, which ceaſed not with the expiration of the War; his conſtant Loyalty having rendred his Eſtate firſt, and then his Perſon obnoxions to the ſeveral Uſurpers, whoſe often repeated injuries, by ſundry Sequeſtrations, and reſtrainrs, upon their pretended Plots, and new Delinquency, were finally ſumm'd up in his Impriſonment of *Hull*, in 1657. by *Oliver*, which dureſs continued for a whole twelvemonth, with ſome gradual enlargment of his liberty, in order to that bloody deſign the Tyrant had forelaid in 1658.

At which time, about the beginning of Summer, having the freedome of the Town, he fell into acquaintance (for lack of better) of ſome of the Officers of the Garriſon, who on purpoſe inſinuated into his Company and Familiarity, being ſet on work by *Olivers* Agents and Command to betray and trepan him: In tendency whereunto, after ſome merry Cups, where they drank Healths to the King, as if they would alſo become, or were already His Loyal Subjects, they ſeriouſly propounded the ſeizure of that important place for His Majeſty, profeſſing their affection and duty to Him, and their ſorrow of having ſerved ſo long againſt Him, deſiring Sir *Henry* to procure them a Commiſſion, that they might be the better enabled to proceed in their Enterpriſe.

The noble Knight deceived with the advantagious opportunity of ſo ſignal a ſervice, after ſome little pauſe, promi ed to procure one, but knowing there was no means to obtain it, as he was in that condition, he reſolved to make uſe of an old one he had by him, and fit it to the preſent occaſion;

fion ; which they having received, and their enjoyned work thereby finiſhed, the Treachery diſcovered it ſelf: Sir *Henry* being preſently ſent up a Priſoner to the Tower, from whence (as the chief Complice in the ſaid artificial Plot of the year 1658.) he was brought to the *High Court of Juſtice*, ſitting in *Weſtminſter-hall*, for tryal of him & other Innocent Royaliſts.

At his Tryal he manifeſted the impoſſibility of the attempt, and diſcovered the wicked artifices of his betrayers, who were now his witneſſes in Court againſt him, which he objected to his Judges, and the baſeneſs of the deſign againſt his life, being laid by themſelves to deſtroy him ; and further ſaid, that it was meer talk and diſcourſe that had paſſed between them, without any further reſolution ; then Preſident *Liſle* fell on, aggravating the crime and the danger thereof, and without any more ado, gave Sentence of Death, that he ſhould be Beheaded, which was accordingly Executed on the 8. of *June*, in this following manner.

The Leiutenant of the Tower having delivered him (about 10. of the clock in the morning) to the Sheriffs, Aldermen *Robinſon* and *Chandlor*, he marched with a fixt and ſteady countenance to the Scaffold (the relator hereof having him all the way thither by the right Hand) not ſo much as looking upon the people, nor ſaying one word, being intent upon the happineſs of his future Eſtate. Being come upon the Scaffold, he preſently prepared for his end, briefly acquainting Sheriff *Robinſon* (to whom only he ſpoke) with the ſum of what he had told the Court, ſaying, it was but an old and out-dated Commiſſion he had made uſe of, and that though his friends (*viz.* the Lord *Faulconbridge* that was his Nephew, who had newly married *Olivers* daughter, and might be thought able to have begged his life (but the intereſt of Tyranny is beyond all relations) had with importunity interceded for his life, yet ſince the Protector was inexorable, he was willing to reſign his life, with words to that effect, and ſo magnanimouſly fitted himſelf for the Block, and at one blow had his Head ſeyered from his Body, which was preſently conveyed into a Herſe with ſix Horſes, ſtanding ready near the Scaffold, and carried away to be interred in the graves of his honourable Anceſtors.

This ſhould have come in Page 203. but the true Copy could not be recovered till the Book was Printed.

FINIS.

THis truly Honourable perſon Sir Henry Hide, Brother to the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England, being ſent by King Charles the ſecond, ſoon after the Martyrdom of his bleſſed Father, upon a meſſage to the Grand Signiour, by being alſo then Conſul of the Morea, was by ſome ſiniſter information, and treacherous practiſe miſrepreſented to the Vizier, as an uncommiſſioned perſon to the Engliſh buſineſs in that Port; By the treachery and artifice of ſome of his Enemies, he is conveyed on Ship-board, and ſo brought to England, and at his arrival laid in the Tower of London; from whence after an unreaſonable and unjuſt Triall before the Commitees of Parliament, and the Council of State, they not allowing him the benefit of his defence in his moſt facile Italian Language, being a great ſtranger to his Native Country, he was brought to his Judgement, which was that he ſhould be beheaded over againſt the Old Exchange London, which was accordingly executed (Titchburn being then Sheriff) where he ſpake theſe dying words.

Sir *Henry Hide's* Speech on the Scaffold near the *Exchange*, immediately before his Execution, *March* 4. 1650.

READer, *Take notice, that this Speech following is publiſhed in thoſe very words that the Gentleman delivered them; and though there be ſome abrupt breakings off, and other expreſſions not ſo ſmooth as might have been, yet I could not with honeſty alter a word, and therefore have I tied my ſelf to his own expreſſions, that I may neither abuſe the world, or the dying man, or my ſelf.*

THe Gentleman came in a Coach to the Scaffold, attended by the Lieut. of the Tower, and the Sheriffs of *London*, and alſo in his company one of his Servants, and Dr. *Hide*.

Sir *Henry Hide.* I Am come to put in practice the Christian Profession, and as I owe a death to nature and sin, now I pay it upon the score of grace.

Dr. *Hide. Blessed be God that hath enabled you to it: God hath and will enable you.*

Sir *H. Hide.* Looking round on the People, he said, A populous City, God bless it, and grant they may live to his Grace. Then turning to his Man, he said, *John*, I pray now though I have not been a good Mr. to you, be you a good servant, and accompany me with your prayers, and help me both in body and mind *John*; Have you my things about you *John?*

Then staying for his servants, they being not on the scaffold, he said, I had rather have my servants then strangers.

Then the Lieut. of the Tower coming to him, he said, pray Sir rejoyce with me: I thank Almighty God I am brought hither to suffer for him.

Lieut. of the Tower. I am glad you are so comforted: Gods will be fulfilled in all things.

Sir H. *Hide.* If God call me to him, and I glorifie him, it is well: I seek only the company of your Christian prayers.

Lieut. of the Tower. I shall not be wanting in that, God willing.

Then the Chyrurgion coming (but not his Kinsman who was called for) he said, my Kinsman is of no use, you may be useful about my body. I hope Mr. sheriff that you'l give order I may have a little more room here.

Sheriff. Yes, yes Sir,

Sir *H. Hide.* And likewise for liberty of speech, and that it shall please you (for I am not acquainted with the forms here of *England*) that I may speak my own sense (I am now going into the presence of Almighty God) a very little, without any disturbance.

Sheriff. Why Sir, you shall

Sir *H. Hide John*, where is my coffin?

John. It is here Sir.

Sheriff. Sir it seems these men cannot be found.

Sir *H. Hide.* But if Mr. *Barret* could be found. After some stay, Mr. *Barret* being not found, the Sheriff spake to him saying.

Sheriff

Sheriff You have your liberty, you know your time.

Sir. *H. Hide* Where is the place of ſtanding, that way or this way? (pointing towards the Exchange and the Poultry.)

Sheriff. Which way you pleaſe: you may ſtand which way you will, but that way you muſt lie (pointing towards the Exchange,

Sir *H. Hide*. I am indifferent: it is not the way to Heaven where a man ſtands.

One brought word to him that there was no help to be had.

Sir *H. Hide*. That is no hindrance to my felicity.

Dr. *Hide*. God enable you that you may find that joy and comfort which is due to the glory of his holy Name; he will not forſake you that have put your truſt in him.

Sir H. *Hide* I will open my heart and my mouth with thankeſgiving (if this Gentleman pleaſe to give way.)

Then turning towards the Poultery, he put off his Hat, and ſaid, *Glory be to God on high, on Earth peace, good will to men.*

CHriſtian People, I come hither to die; I am brought hither to die; and that I may die Chriſtian-like, I humbly beſeech the aſſiſtance of your Chriſtian prayers, that by the benefit of them my paſſage may be the more eaſie: Yet becauſe men in that condition, which it hath pleaſed God to reduce me, carry more credit to their Speeches: In the diſcharge of my Duty towards God, I ſhall uſe a few words and ſo diſpatch.

I pray all of you joyn with me to praiſe this Almighty God, to whom I deſire to render all hearty thanks; as for all his mercies, ſo in particular for this, That he hath brought me hither: That whereas I owe a duty to Sin and to Nature, I can pay it upon the account of Grace. And becauſe it is fit to render an account of that Hope that is in me, I ſhall tell you, to the praiſe of Allmighty God, That I have been born and bred up in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, I have no negative Religion, believing to be ſaved by the onely merits of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, (*putting off his Hat*) and whatſoever elſe is profeſt in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* authorized by Law; humbly beſeeching Almighty God to reſtore unto this Church her

Peace, Prosperity, and Patrimony, whereof I have been an obedient and a loving (however an unworthy) Son. And now both my Hope being confident, and my Faith perfected, there remains onely Christian Charity; Charity we carry into Heaven, Charity on earth, and that I leave, beseeching all whomsoever I have offended (whether I have or no) to forgive me, as I from the bottome of my heart do them whomsoever; blessing Almighty God for the happy advantages he takes to bring me neerer to heaven; blessing Almighty God, that he hath given me this advantage, as he hath been mercifull to me before the foundation of the World, in my Saviour; so that now he hath in mercy honoured me, with a suffering for his Name, in obedience to his Commandement.

On this day seven night I was summ'd before that Justice, which condemned me on *Friday* last, praised be Almighty God, that by this way he hath brought me the neerer to himself (*putting off his hat*) My Charge I presume is publique, as my punishment is visible: if there have been any thing in the management of my part, being unskilful, having discontinued my own Country many years, I shall beseech the Christian Charity of all you my beloved Country-men to impute it unto the right part, the ignorance that is in the skilful way of managing: it was objected unto me there, that I had a vanity of delighting in strange Tongues. I was best skill'd in the *Italian*, (but free from that vanity, I thank Almighty God) and therefore I would in defence of my life (if it had been the Custom here, or the Judges favour) have used that Language.

It was objected, That I did not so freely as a thorow-paced Cavalier own my Master. I was told since I came into *England* (for other skill I have not in your Laws) that a legal Denial in Law might be tolerable; I hope I did not exceed the bounds of that in any thing, for God forbid that I should be ashamed of serving so good, so pious, so just a Master, (*putting off his hat*) for that therein rejoyce; I humbly beseech Almighty God to fill my heart and my tongue, and all that heare me this day with thankfulness for it.

As to the business, that another construction had been made and believed here then what was there, the righteous God knoweth it; if any weakness was in the management,

ment, that was mine: I was ſent to ſerve and protect, not injure any: and as God acquits me of the intention in matter of Fact, as having done any manner of evil that way, however here underſtood, bleſſed be his Holy Name, (*putting off his hat*) ſo thoſe Gentlemen of the Turkey Company, if they would ſeriouſly conſider, for they know it very well, the impoſſibility of my doing them any manner of harm. Whereas that of the Embaſſie objected againſt me, that my Maſter never honoured me withall, I was never worthy of it, I was his Meſſenger, an *Internuncio* for the conſervation onely of his good Subjects, of all the Merchants, untill ſuch time as he could confirm that Gentleman now Reſident, or to ſend any other; and they themſelves know that there was impoſſibility in me (as I bleſſe God there was an innocency in me) unto any ſuch intention to do them any harm; for my Maſters Commands were point blank the contrary; I was onely ſent for their good: as I never owned the Title, ſo the very Letters themſelves ſpeaking no other: I never did ſo much as think of any manner of Addreſſe unto the *Grand Signiour*, but gave him the Letter from my Maſter; the reſt of the Engliſh Nation that were there preſent, may, when they pleaſe, aſſert ſo much. This I would inſert, that thoſe Genlemen, as they have been loſers by the miſcarriages of others, may now have no breach of their charity with me; but if it be, as it ſeems it is now in this Country, a Sin to be Loyal, I hope my God hath forgiven that, when it is upon harmleſs employment, not invading any, according to his juſt Maſters Order; for indeed I have been alwayes bred up in that Religion, my Allegiance hath been incorporated into my Religion, and I have thought it a great part of the ſervice due from me to Almighty God, to ſerve the King (*putting off his hat.*) I need not make any Apology for any thing in relation to the preſent things in *England*, for were I as I ſpake before my Judges) were I as evil as my Sentence hath here made me black it were impoſſible for me to have prejudiced any body in *England*, or to *England* belonging in that imployment; but I bleſſe God for his infinite mercy in Jeſus Chriſt (*putting off his hat*) who hath brought me home to him here in this way, it was the beſt Phyſick for the curing of my Soul, and thoſe that have

done it, have no more power in then that of my body. I leave nothing behind me but what I am willing to part with all, all that I am going to is desireable: And that you may all know that Almighty God hath totally wrought in me a totall Denial of my selfe, and that there is that perfect Reformation of me within, and of my own corruptions, by the blessed assistance of his holy Spirit, I desire Almighty God in the abundance of the Bowels of his mercy in Jesus Christ not onely to forgive every Enemy, (if any such be in the world, here or whereſoever) but to bring him into his bosome so much good and particular comfort, as he may at any time, whether the Cause were just or unjust, have wished me any manner of evill, for I take him to be the happy instrument of bringing me to heaven. It is tedious, but I have an inward comfort, I blesse Almighty God: (pray Gentlemen give me leave, *speaking to some that prest upon him*) I should never do it but to give satisfaction to all charitable hearts. I hav been troublesome.

Sheriff. *You have your Liberty to speak more, if you please.*

Sir *Henry Hide.* But as to that part, Master Sheriffe, that did concern the denial (as it was affirmed by Master Attourney General) of my Masters imployment. Truly Landing at *Whitehall.* I told that Council, there was just Commissions to an old Officer by the blessing of God, I have by me; and I hath other good things that God hath blessed me withal, more then all the good Christians in the world, that are not the *Grand Seignious's* Slaves; And we that are Merchants abroad, we allow our selves any sufferance that may conduce to our own safety, inlargement of Trade, or preservation of what is ours. Why I had by the assistance of my gracious Master a confirmation of of my old Commission of *Consulage* in *Greece*: But as the Embassie, no more then my Credential Letters did speak, nor no more then that I attempted, an *Internuncio* they call it in those places, which is a Messenger between the own and the other King: They both unhappily died of several deaths, & both violent too. And it is a custome not unknown to you, Mr. Sheriff, and other Gentlemen that practice in the world, that Princes of course, for the continuation of Amity, do send Messengers where there is Peace, that the transaction of those publick

expressions

expreſſions of reciprocal affection may be performed; but for Embaſſy, God forbid I ſhould own it, I never had it, however they have uſed it as a happy meanes to bring me to God this day. I beſeech God in the bowels of my Saviour to forgive thoſe people that have done it, I owe them no harme, ſo God pay them home with all the good of this, and an everlaſting life.

As for power I have been long abſent here in *England*, I meddle with none: ſufficient to me is Gods grace to the ſalvation of my ſoul.

I have been alwayes fearful of offending Almighty God according to the grace he hath given me: but to learn new Religion, & new Wayes, (that I muſt ſay Mr. Sheriff to you, & all others that hear me, I cannot diſpence with my conſcience to give offence to Almighty God. I am now (if it may be with your permiſſion, Mr. Sheriff) to pour out my ſoul to Almighty God in two or three words (the place is ſtraitned) If I knew wherein to give any ſatisfaction to any thing whatſoever, wherein I have offended or no, I am here in the feare of God to doe it, I forgive them with all my ſoul, and my forgiveneſs is clear, as I am now going to receive happineſs at the hands of my Saviour: But if I thought it were ſatisfaction to Sir *Thomas Bendiſh*, and all the company, or any who think they have offended me, *I* am come Mr. Sheriff to pay that obedience willingly; that debt *I* owe to Nature; to pay it upon the ſcore of a ſubject, becauſe Conſcience within me tels me not, that for the intentions of ſerving my Prince, that I could deſerve ſuch a Death, though ten thouſand times more other wayes.

Dr. *Hide. There was ſome ſuſpition that you might impart the way you were upon to ſome of thoſe ſervants that were with you.*

Sir *Henry Hide*, I humbly thank you for remembring me of it; & if there be any here of the *Turky* Company this day, or any freind of theirs, *I* ſhall deſire them from a dying man to take this truth, that neither my brother, my innocent brother that this is with me, nor other Gentlemen with me in my company, have contributed any thing to their diſturbance; it was my own buſineſs, whatſoever ath been done, that hath been to evill, or loſſe, though *I* deny both of them in my intentions: I come not here to accuſe any man, nor

excuse my self, but I praise God for all his deliverances; yet I know I shall do God a great deal of Service, & them a great deal of justice, in not involving any of my Company in any thing of mischief. *I* cannot answer objections; I find a man may be in *Turkey*, or in any place, all the World over, where they will give that Language which they hold fitting; but this is beneath me. Blessed be Almighty God, that hath called me to the knowledge of him, and this ready Obedience which I pray, and mercifully accepting of my Saviour, and patient death: And I beseech you all, whatsoever you are, that you will accompany me with your prayers, whereby my Soul may be assisted within me, in that passage to my Saviour whither I am going. *I* am weak of body, I have discontinued long from the Kingdom, I am unacquainted with new Forms, I have desired to serve God according to his Commandements after the Old Way: I have begged mercy of God for all my offences to him, and have had my pardon sealed from Heaven by the Blood of my Saviour: I beg pardon of all whosoever, whether I have offended them, or no: *I* truly forgive them, and have besought Almighty God to pour his blessings upon them. I accuse no man, I find fault nor quarrel with no man, neither with the persons that were the occasions, they were but instruments; neither at the persons condemning. I accept thankfully the Sentence of Death upon my self, and I beseech Almighty God, that *I* may be the last that may suffer upon this score, or upon any other.

Master Sheriff. If there be any thing wherein I can give any other satisfaction to any Christian whatsoever, in any kind, as I speake in generall. I blesse God Almighty from my own heart, now so assisted by the especial Operation, and Motions, and Dictates of the Holy Ghost: if I can know any thing, wherein, or how to be now in my dying (not having served God so well in my life) serviceable to the Church of God, of Christ, and the full satisfaction of any whatsoever, *I* am here ready: I am unacquainted, but in my extasies to Heaven, there is that glory I am going to, I beseech Almighty God, that he will give me grace to bless his Holy Name; as for all, as for Jesus Christ, and in him all things, so particularly for this, that he hath thought me worthy to bring me hither for my faithfulnesse to my Master, that is the most Pious, & most just Prince in all the world. My

Master

Master hath suffered bitterly in *England*; and if there be any failing in his service, the fau't is onely mine. God knowes, *I* have done nothing in the busines, but by the assistance of the Merchants; I delivered my Letters, and there they lie: To other things *I* am a Stranger. I hope that God will give me the grace of perseverance in that Christian Religion; in that Loyalty to my Prince; in that love to all the world, that now (being to give up my accompt to him, that) I may with comfort be received into the arms of his mercy.

If there be any thing, Master Sheriff, that I may give satisfaction in, I am ready to do it according to the poor talent I have. I will receive my punishment in the way God hath prepared for me; and many wayes I have been taken up. Truly I am bound to all that see me, and many thousands more since I came into *England*, not an uncivil look (we had strange reports abroad) not an uncivil look from any: God repay them all, and return them from the Throne of his grace into their own bosoms. And God in particular bless that honourable Lady, who was the occasion of the coming of my Lords Grace of *Armagh*, with the Confirmation of those glorious and eternall Messages of Comfort which now *I* am going to enjoy: being thankful to all those that know me, and know me not, for since I am come hither, whereas I might have received prejudice in respect to my Loyalty (which is not the way, now) I have from them all received courtesie, the Lord repay them. *I* thank God I am otherwise bred, and my Allegiance hath been incorporated, imbodied into my Religion; and besides the great desires of other Gentlemen, that I might go out of the world, but that the world might see that the Grace of God hath had a perfect Reformation in me, and a willing and thankful Submission to his Will, therefore *I* repent me not of it; but I beseech Almighty God to bless and prosper all people whatsoever that to this Kingdom belong. As my Speech is imperfect, so is my health. I have forced my self in this Discourse to give that satisfaction which I could. And I beseech you Mr. Sheriff, if you can hear of any Gentlemen that are wronged, what I offer here, *I* am to answer it; and I beseech you joyn with me in your Christian prayers, that I may have a passage whether *I* am now going to give an accompt, not onely of every deed, but of every word.

Then

Then turning to his man.

Sir *Henry Hide*, *John*, which is the Executioner?

The Executioner being brought to him he ſaid,

Sir *Henry Hide*. Honeſt Freind I have no quarrell with you, you are the welcome inſtrument, do your work, onely let me ſee the place, that *I* may fit my ſelfe, for I have an infirm body.

Sheriff. You ſhall when you have prayed; if you pleaſe to pray firſt.

Sir *H. Hide*. I deſire to ſe the Block, I can pray afterwards. Here Mr. Executioner here's that money which is left; here is four pounds for you.

Then being ſhewed the block, he kiſſed it, ſaying,

Sir *H. Hide*. It is unworthy for me to put my head where my Maſters was, Bleſſed be God, Bleſſed be his holy Name (*putting off his hat*) I have an infirmity in my Body, but God hath enabled me inwardly. Pray, Mr. Sheriff let me have a little more room,

Sheriff. Go to prayer, and we will clear the room.

Sir *H. Hide*. *I* have (*I* thank almighty God) done thoſe Chriſtian offices belonging to me, at home, I come hither onely to dye.

Then kneeling down he ſaid the Lords prayer.

Then having praied a ſhort ſpace, he ſtood up, and turning to the Executioner, ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide*. Honeſt Friend, *I* pray give me directions what I am to do, and do your Office: you will cure all diſeaſes preſently; pray direct me.

Then the Executioner going to ſpread the Scarff over the block, he ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide*. Put it not on now, but by and by.

D. *Hide*. God Almighty ſtrengthen you.

Sir *H. Hide*. God reward you all.

Then the Executioner going to put up his hair under his Sattin cap, he thought he had been taking of it off; whereupon he ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide*. Muſt I have my black Cap off? it is very cold; all theſe diſeaſes will be cured, the Lord be thanked.

Then going to lie down, his man not helping him, he ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide*. *John*, Help me a little, I pray; Did not I tell

you

you I could neither riſe nor fall? lay me down, and lift me up again

Then riſing again upon his knees, he ſpake to the Executioner, having the Ax in his hand.

Sir *H. Hide.* Pray Sir give me the Ax:

And then taking the Ax in his hand, he kiſſed it, and returned it to the Executioner again, ſaying,

Sir *H. Hide.* I will onely ſay, *Lord Jeſus receive my Soul*, and when *I* lift up my right hand do your work.

And then lying down again, after a little ſpace he lift up his right hand, and the Executioner at one ſtroak ſevered his head from his body.

THis Venerable Doctor Hewit *being famed for his great piety and learning, and reſolute defence of the Proteſtant Religion, which he manifeſted in his ſermons at Saint* Gregories *by St.* Pauls, *where he was Paſtor, and alſo by a blameleſſe converſation added thereto, beſides that he was obnoxious to the Uſurper, by reaſon of his Marriage, with the Right Honourable the Earl of* Lindeſey's *Siſter, was deſigned by the bloody Tyrant the pretended* Proteƈtor, *for a ſacrifice to his unſatiable and reſtleſs Cruelty; He is therewith ſecured, and tryed before a High Court of Juſtice, whoſe Authority he denyed as Legal, and inſiſted upon his own innocency, and the unwarrantable neſſe of their proceedings. That Monſtrous Court take him at 3. defaults, in not anſwering and pleading directly to their charge, and condemn him, which was accordingly performed on the 8. day of* June 1658. *on* Tower-Hill, *where he ſpake as followeth.*

The manner of the Execution of that Reverend Doctor John Hewit *D. D. on the ſame Scaffold, on Tueſday the ſame 8. of* June 1658. *with his ſpeech before his death.*

AS ſoon as Sir *Henry Slingsby's* body was removed, as is aforeſaid, Doctor *Hewit* was brought upon the ſcaffold, whither being come (together with Dr, *Wild*, Dr. *Warmſtry*, and Mr. *Barwick*) he fell upon his knees, and prayed privately for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour; After that he prayed audibly for a good ſpace.

After

After which prayer he addreſſed himſelf to the people in a ſpeech which continued above the ſpace of an hour, the ſubſtance of which ſpeech was as followeth.

I am become a publick ſpectacle to Men and Angels, and (*I* hope) God, who is Omniſcient, is now beholding me with much pity, and great mercy and compaſſion; and the more, becauſe *I* am now come to that end that his own Son came into the world to, To bear witneſſe to the truth: he himſelf ſaid, *For this end was I born, for this cauſe came I into the world, that I ſhould bear witneſs to the truth*: *I* was brought into the world (the Chriſtian world) for to bear witneſs to the truth of the Goſpel, as a common Chriſtian; I was brought into the world (the Church) as a Miniſter of his bleſſed Word and Sacraments; [Bleſſed be his Name for that honour and dignity;] and *I* came into the world to die more immediately for the teſtimony of JESUS, which God hath now called me to. I came into this world (this Commonwealth) to be a Member thereof, to bear witneſſe to the truth of the Cuſtomes; the Lawes, the Liberties, and Priviledges thereof, ſo I am a Member of the Common-wealth: And methinks it ſeems to me a ſtrange thing, that in as much as we all plead for Liberty, and Priviledges, and *I* pleading for the Priviledges, the Lawes, the Statutes, and the Cuſtoms of this Land, yet I ſhould die by thoſe that ſhould ſtand for the Lawes, the Statutes, and Priviledges of the Land: And I am here beheld of thoſe that plead for their Liberties, and I hope *I* am pittied becauſe I here give up my ſelf willingly and freely to be a State Martyr for the publick good; and *I* had rather die many deaths my ſelf, than betray my fellow-freemen to ſo many inconveniences that they might be like to ſuffer by being ſubject to the wills of them that willed me to this death.

And it is worthy remembrance, that Mr. *Sollicitour* having impeached me of Treaſon to the Commiſſioners of the Court againſt his Highneſs, I did often (when brought before the Commiſſioners) plead for the Liberties of the people of *Engl.* though I had no knowledge of the Law, yet I had inſtruction from thoſe that were learned in the Law, & had ſeveral Law-Caſes & Preſidents put into my hand, though not by them & urged ſeveral Law-Caſes, & made my appeal, Firſt for the judicature

dicature that I was to be tried by, whether it were accordin? to Law? whether it were according to the Act? and whether it were according to the words of the ſaid Act? *I* did appeal to have the ſaid Act argued by learned Lawyers on both ſides, & then to be reſolved by his Highneſs own Council, wch was denied me, [This by the by] *I* preſſing the Argument made a ſecõd Appeal that thoſe Judges if they would ſingly give their ſeveral Judgements that it was a juſt & lawful Court of Judicature, I would anſwer to my charge; I did make another Appeal to thoſe that were his Higneſs's Council, and pleaded againſt me. That if they would deliver it to me under their hands to be according to Law, *I* would then go on to plead & anſwer to the Charge. What was then ſaid further, my ſpirits being faint, I ſhall not ſay much, but only this, *I* was taken in three defaults upon formality of the Court: It ſeems it is a cuſtom in all Courts, (wch I did not know before) that if they anſwer not the third time ſpeaking by the Clerk, that then they are guilty of three defaults, and proceeded againſt as mute: [I had no ſuch knowledge of the Law.] So they found me guilty of thoſe defaults; and when *I* would have pleaded, & reſolved to begin to plead, *I* was taken from the Bar. I did the next day make my Petition to the Court in the painted-Chamber, two Petitions were preſented the ſame in effect; the former the Title was miſtaken: Yet becauſe the Title was miſtaken, & no anſwer given, therefore it wa that another Petition was drawn up to the ſame effect, with a new Tit e given, (as I remember) preſented by the Serjeant at Arms, and one writ it over in ſuch haſte leſt they ſhould be drawn out of the Painted-Chamber into the Court, that *I* had not time to read it over, only I ſubſcribed my name, & there was in the front of the Petition a word left out, but what the word was I know not; & this was taken ſo ill, as if I put an affront & contempt upon the Court, And it was thought they would have heard me plead; and then becauſe of that miſtake, they ſent word, *I* ſhould have my anſwer when I came into the Court; & my anſwer was the ſentence of condemnation. And therefore *I* pray with all my ſoul, that God would forgive all thoſe that occaſioned the charge to be drawn againſt me: to give ſuch unjuſt things againſt me: I pray with all my ſoul, that God would forgive all thoſe that upon ſo ſlender and ſmall

ground

grounds adjudg'd me to die, taking advantage of ſuch ſimple ignorance as *I* was in. And *I* had at the very beginning of my pleading engaged their Honours, no advantage ſhould be taken againſt me to my prejudice, that in as much as *I* underſtood nothing of the Law, and having heard that a man in the nicety of the Law might be loſt in the ſeverity thereof, meerly for ſpeaking a word out of ſimple ignorance, *I* made it my prayer to them, that no advantage might be taken againſt me to the prejudice of my perſon: and there was to me a ſeeming conſent; for the Preſident told me, there ſhould be no advantage taken againſt me: and upon theſe conſiderations *I* am afraid there was too great uncharitableneſſe. But *I* pray God forgive them from the very bottom of my ſoul, and *I* deſire that even thoſe that ſhed my blood, may have the bowels of the God of Mercy ſhed for them.

And now having given you the occaſion of my coming hither, it is fit *I* ſhould give you ſomewhat as concerning my ſelf, as *I* am a Chriſtian, and as *I* am a Clergy-man. Firſt, as *I* am a Chriſtian, *I* thank God *I* was baptized to the Holy Church, ſo *I* was baptized to be a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that is the Church of *England*, which *I* dare ſay for purity of Doctrine, and orderly Diſcipline, till a ſad Reformation had ſpoiled the face of the Church, and made it a query, whether it were a Church or no? I ſay, it was more purely Divine and Apoſtolical, then any other Doctrine or Church in the Chriſtian world, whether National, or Claſſical, or Congregational: And I muſt tell you, That as I am a Member of this Church, ſo I am a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, and ſhall give a moſt juſt Confeſſion of my Faith, both negatively and affirmatively. Negatively, I am ſo a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that I abhor all Sects, Schiſms, Sedition, and Tyranny in Religion. Affirmatively ſo, that as I hold Communion with, ſo I love and honour all Chriſtians in the world, that love the ſame Lord JESUS in ſincerity, and call on his Name, agreeing with thoſe truths that are abſolutely neceſſary and clearly demonſtrated in the Word of God, both in the Old and New Teſtament, though in charity diſſenting from ſome others that are not neceſſary. And I, as I am thus a Chriſtian, I hope for ſalvation through the merits

fits of Christ Jesus, his blood I relie on, his merits I trust to for salvation of my own Soul: though to this Faith Good Works are necessary; not meritorious in us, but solely made meritorious by Christ his death, by his all-sufficiency, by his satisfaction, and his righteousness, they become meritorious, but in us they are no other than as defiled rags. And truly, as I am a Member of the Church, so I told you, I was a Member of this Community, and so pleaded for the Liberties and Priviledges thereof. I must now answer something I am aspersed withall in the world.

They talk of something of a Plot, and a Treasonable design, and that I had a great interest in the knowledge and practice thereof, and that, for the saving my life, I would have discovered and betraied I cannot tell what. I hope my conversation hath not been such here in this City, where I have been a long time very well known, as to make one imagine I should intermeddle in such an Action, and go so contrary to the practice of my profession: and I hope there are none so uncharitable towards me, as to believe I had a knowledge of that design.

Here I must come to particulars for a Plot, of having a design upon the City of *London*, for the firing of it; I so much tremble at the thought of the thing that should have been done, as they say, for the carrying on of such a design, (if my heart deceive me not) had I known it, I so much abhor the thing, I should have been the first discoverer of it: Nor ever had I correspondency o meetings with such persons as would have carried on such a design It is said likewise *I* entertained the Earl, the Marques of *Ormond*; To my rembrance I never saw the face of that Honourable person in my life. It is said one Lords day *I* did preach at Saint *Gregories*, and the next Lords day I was at *Brussels* or *Bruges*, and kist the Kings hand, and brought I cannot tell what Orders and Instructions from him. This I shall say For these three years last past together, I have not been sixty miles from this City of *London*, and I think it is somewhat further to either of those places than threescore miles. It is said that *I* kept correspondency with one *Mallory* and *Bishop*: They are persons I have heard of their names, but never saw their faces; and to my knowledge I do not know

know they know me, nor do I know them at all, but onely as I have heard of their name. And whosoever elſe hath ſuggeſted ſuch things againſt me, I know not.

His Highneſs was pleaſed to tell me, *I* was like a flaming Torch in the midſt of a ſheaf of Corn: He meaning, *I* being a publick Preacher, was able to ſet the City on fire by ſedition and combuſtions, and promoting deſignes. Here truly I do ſay, and have it from many of thoſe who are Judges of the High Court, that upon examination of the buſineſs they have not found me a medler at all in theſe affairs. And truly I muſt needs ſay therefore, That it was a very uncharitable act in them (whoever they were) that brought ſuch accuſation againſt me, and irritated his Highneſs againſt me. I will not ſay it was malice, it might be zeal, but it was raſh zeal which cauſed me to be ſentenced to this place: The God of mercy pardon and forgive them all. And truly as I am a Member of the Church and as a Member of the Community where on my behalf I have been ſpeaking, I cannot but do as our Saviour himſelf did for his Diſciples when he was to be taken from them, he bleſſed them, and aſcended up to Heaven. My truſt is, in the mercy of the moſt High I ſhall not miſcarry; and however my dayes are ſhortned by this unexpected doom, and ſhall be brought untimely to the grave: I cannot go without my prayers for a bleſſing upon the people of this Land, and cannot but bleſs them all in the Name of God, and beſeech God to bleſs them in all their wayes, and his bleſſing be upon them.

FINIS.

Captain Simkins *with ſix more Executed at* Cheſter *by Sentance of a Councell of War; the ſame time, and upon the ſame account that the Earl of* Derby *was Condemned there, October* 1651.

THis Perſon, then belonging to the Earl of *Derby*, and others, whoſe names are as yet not recovered, for want of information having been omitted in the foregoing Marty-ology, do now require a ſolemne memorial of their ſacrificed loyalty, to that inexorable and inſatiate cruelty of the Uſurpation.

The pretended Crime for which he was condemned, beſides the other charges of his dutifull allegiance to his Prince in Common with many other Cavaliers and ſufferers in that fatal buſineſſe, was more particularly and ſpecially, for his undertaking the delivery of a letter, from the King upon his march to the ſaid City of *Worceſter*, to Sir *Thomas Middleton*; wherein his Majeſty invited the ſame Knight (ſince eminent for his concurrence in Sir *George Booths* buſineſſe, & his Garriſoning *Chirke* & *Harding* Caſtles on the deſign) to take up armes for him, and come in with what forces he could raiſe, being a man of note & influence upon his Country, to his aid and aſſiſtance; which command the Captain readily obeyed, and as willingly performed, but ſuch was the watchfulneſs of the Committees and other Emiſſaries, and Spies, of the Rump, who diligently obſerved every mans company and actions in that ſuſpitious juncture; that he fell into their clutches, but whether by foreſaid diſcovery or ſurprize is not certainly and fully related, but howeverit came to paſs, this unfortunate gentleman was ſecured and conveyed to *Cheſter*, that diſmal Tribunal of the Court Marſhal held there, who ſpared none nor acquitted any, that were brought before them upon the Royal account, and for this very action (as within the direct letter & expreſs

expreſſe words of the Pretended Act of the Rump, againſt holding and maintaining intelligence and correſpondence with the King, upon which the ſaid Court of War proceeded, as if it were a Civil Judicature) was condemned to death, which, by the Hang man, was accordingly executed: The couragious Martyr joyfully and undauntedly ſuffering under that ignominious puniſhment, accompanied therein with the ſix unnamed Perſons as before; who all conſtantly and willingly witneſſed to the death the juſtice and duty of that ſervice they tendred to the KING; ſo that *Cheſter* ſeemed a *Golgotha* or *Aceldama* of Loyall Blood, which never ceaſed crying till it roſe in the face of the blood-ſuckers at *Weſtminſter* in the year 1659 in this very place at the riſing of Sir *George Booth* and led the way to the finall ruin and overthrow of that accurſed monſtrous party.

It doth alſo very much deſerve our obſervation and admiration of the juſtice of God in avenging the blood of the noble Earl of *Derby*, (ſo inhumanely and barbarouſly murthered by this Court ſitting here, as alſo of theſe ſmaller and leſſer Martyrs engaged with him) by the due execution of one Captain *Chriſtian* a main Incendary and Enemy of the Kings and the Noble Earls in the Iſle of *Man* (the Regality of the ſaid Earl) and the Parts adjacent. This fellow, whom the ſame curſe of *Cain* dogged and purſued, could not forbear to come again into the Iſle, upon the reſettlement of it in the ancient Juriſdiction and poſſeſſion of that Illuſtrious Family (though knowing the act of oblivion prevailed not there againſt this his peculiar Princes ſoverainty) and was thereupon apprehended and tried according to the Lawes and Cuſtomes of that Place, and condemned to be hanged; which was accordingly executed to the ſentence, and ſo ſome drops of that pretious blood ſpilt by his party in a moſt illegall barbarous manner, was moſt legally and juſtly expiated.

There were ſix Northumberland *men condemned for the ſame deſigne, in the North, with Colonel* Penruddock *in the Weſt; and two more at* Wrexham *in* Denbigh ſhire, *for the ſame buſineſſe, but their names being ſuppreſt by their bloody Adverſaries, I cannot give them a due parentation till after more ſtrict inquiſition.*

Col-

Colonel Edward Aſhton, John Bettely, *and* Edmund Stacy *the two firſt hanged and quartered, the laſt hanged; in ſeverall places of* London.

THeſe three perſons were concerned with others, in that deſign where of Mr. *John* now ord Viſcount *Mordant* and Dr. *Hewit*, were chief managers and councellours in the year 1658 againſt *Oliver Cromwel*, but of ſo ſmall an acquaintance to it, ſave to the miſerable effects of the diſcovery thereof, that it may be confidently preſumed they were totally ignorant of any machination or intention gainſt the life of that Tyrant or that they then thought of taking arms for the King, being meerly loyall and well wiſhers to the King and his authority.

For as to Collonel *Aſhton* he had born that command and dignity, in the Kings Armies, formerly; but the event of that calamitous war had ſo ruined and undone him, that that at the ſame time of this pretended plot he was a Priſoner to Newgate, but ſuch his fair cariage there, that the Keepers ſuffered him for ſome time before to go at large, which kindneſſe proved his ruine, for *Cromwels* Trapans meeting him abroad, as they were inſtructed, boarded him with ſome preparatory diſcourſes of engaging for the King againſt *Cromwel*, mentioning a Plot or ſome deſign then a forming; but in ſuch a ſlight manner as the Colonel gave no great heed, or took notice of it, onely expreſſed himſelfe as uſ all, the Kings very ready and willing ſervant, but engaged to no particulars: Nevertheleſſe this ſerved the turn. Return is made to *Thurloe* that Colonel *Aſhton* is liſted into the conſpiracy and a partaker in it, and there upon *Cromwel* ſends for the Keeper of Newgate and demands Colonel *Aſhton*, he replies he hath had his liberty ſome while before; *Cromwel* in Anger commands him to ſee to it, that he have him in cuſtody the next day, at which time the Colonel innocently

nocently coming thither, was unexpectedly secured, and upon notice thereof charged, by *Cromwels* order with high Treason; for which he was kept there in strict durance till the time of his Trial before the High-Court of Justice in *June* and *July*, following whose proceedings we will mention with the other two martyrs together.

John Bettely was a poor, but honest, young man, an Apprentice to a Cloth packer or such trade, addicted and declared for the Kings Cause and the true protestant Religion, of which he was no luke-warme Professor, or unzealous therein. This laid him open to the Artifices of the same Emissaries of *Cromwels*, who having trained him into an Ale-house broacht the same fetches about the King and a plot, and were listened to, by the young man, with the same negligent and indifferent attention as by Colonel *Ashton*, but such good Royal apprecations and wishes fell from him, unwary to whom he spoke them; that sufficed to bring him into the snare and then to the Gibbet.

Edmund Stacy had been formerly a Lieutenant in the Parliaments army, and for that his service he was requited at last with a Halter; he was now a weaver, his old trade, which brought him to his acquaintance with one *Sumner* one of his Trade, of a good estate, really engaged by the same Trapans in this unfortunate business; Mr. *Stacy* onely followed this man and was never at any other meetings but with him and his company, who proved his accusers, so insensible was he of this Treachery.

These three (with Mr. *Carent*, who was acquitted, and one *Erier* the same Summer, and *Oliver Allen*, who were condemned, and afterwards reprieved) were charged by the High Court for compassing the death of the Protector, and the firing the City in several places, thousands of men being listed by them and their complices in and about *London* for that purpose, and accordingly, right or wrong, adjudged to dy as Traitors, which was executed on Colonel *Ashton* and *Bettly*, (who were both attended in their sledges by Dr. *Warmstry*,) by hanging and quartering, the one at Tower-street at the end of *Mark* lane, and the other at *Wood* street end in *Cheapside*, where *Bettly* having hung a quarter of an hour, with his hands, pulled off his Cap, and held it a while (a very signall token) Mr. *Stacy* was hanged onely in the *Exchange* in *Cornhill* 2 dayes after; all three of them dyed very good Christians, and are now, no doubt, happy and blessed Saints.

Reader

TO compleat this Martyrology, and gather into one those sacred scattered Reliques of his Majesties Loyall Subjects, who fell in the Field in defence of his Authority, and merit that Crown, next to those who bled for it on the Scaffold; I thinke it a religious and just duty to them to parentate to their Renown in this Memorial ensuing. And certainly those brave Heroes, who so chearfully encountred Death in this service, would hardly have entertained, or embraced a Life not devoted thereto, and which they would not have been ready to sacrifice upon all occasions to His Person, Cause, and Authority: So what was truly said in facto of the Primitive Christians, that they greedily offered themselves to their persecuters Swords and Gibbets, and could not be restrained but by a Decree and Canon of the CHURCH against such wilfull Martyrdome,

might præſagiouſly, and rightly conjecturally been affirmed *of theſe Heroical Victimes who would, Sans peradventure have put themſelves uponendleſs dangers and hazards, to the recovering and regaining His Majeſties Rights, and aſſerted as much at their ſanguinous* Tribunals, *as in the midſt of their cruel and bloody* Battalions.

And that our Allegiance now might not want ſuch good and great examples, theſe are for that reaſon propoſed as a Corollary and Concluſion of all the reſt, being all of them very Eminent in their Lives, and will be of uſe in their Deaths to all ſucceeding poſterity: And I could wiſh, that as His Majeſtie hath been Royally and Graciouſly pleaſed to remunerate in ſome meaſure the ſervices of thoſe his Loyal party who have ſurvived the calamity of the late War, and countenance and favour them as far as his owne preſent condition will allow; ſo that ſomething alſo may be done in Honour to theſe his dead Champions and Souldiers, and that to that purpoſe Monuments might be erected in the ſeveral places of their Enterment and Sepulture, to be the perpetual Indexes of their noble ſervices to the Crown. I am ſure it was the pompous practice of the Uſurpation, though ſo ſhort liv'd, that a paper Inſcription would have out dured their fond deſires of ſuch Immortality. And ſurely Vertue deſerves what Vice pretended to, and arrogated to it ſelf upon a miſtaken confidence of conſtant ſucceſs and inviolable fortune.

Nor do thoſe private perſons of the Souldiery, who

who dyed in the bed of Honour in His Majesties Cause, require lesse at our hands than a gratefull and generall recommendation of their well finished Warfare to the lateſt Posterity. Nor should the perplexity and difficulty of so many uncolligible particulars discharge us from all mention of their worth and desert. And therefore I take upon me in this short and brief Apostil to consecrate *this* EUGE *or* REQUIEM *to these happy* Comrades.

More injustice and irrespectful irreverence will it be, to passe in silence the memory of those Right Honourable Persons who died in Exile for the same Cause, and lingered out a sorrowful troubled life in Forreign parts, either in neglected privacy, or in attendance and unwearied service of their Soveraign; particularly the noble Lord Hopton, *that famous Generall for the KING in the West, who never joyed day after His late blessed Majesties murther, and died at* Bruges *in* Flanders *in* 1656. *As also the Right Honourable the Lord* Wilmot, *newly created Earl of* Rochester, *upon his sending as the Kings Embassadour to the Emperour, and the Princes of* Germany, *who deceased a little before the Restauration. The Lord Keeper* Lane, *who died at* Jersey *in* 1650. *The Lord Chiefe Justice of* England, *Sir* Robert Heath, *who died in* Normandy *in the beginning of the Anarchy. And lastly the Lord* Culpeper, *who lived just so long as to see the happy Restauration of his Soveraign, and himselfe; But lived not to the fruit of any of the blessings thereof. Besides many other private*

persons and Gentlemen of worth, who deceased in the same Forreign Parts in pursuance of His Majesties Fortunes; and are interred incognito, *till the last Trump of Glory shall raise them to a blessed Recomdence: And so we proceed to the List of those, whose names and qualities are happily recovered and preserved.*

THE

The Grenville Library

His Excellency Ro: Bertue Earl of Lindsey Lord Gen: of his Ma^tie^s forces

THE ROYAL MARTYRS:

OR, A Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, Commiſſion-Officers and Gentlemen, that were ſlain by the *Rebels* in the late *Wars*, in Defence of their *King* and *Country*.

ROBERT, Earl of *Lindſey* Lord high Chamberlain of *England*, and his Majeſties Lieutenant General, ſlain at *Edg-hill* Battel, 23 *Octob.* 1642.

Spencer, Earl of *Northampton*, ſlain at *Hopton-Heath* in *Staffordſh.* 19 *March*, 1642.

The Earl of *Denbigh* received deaths wound at *Birmincham*, 3 *April*, 1643. of which he ſoon after died.

The Earls of *Carnarvan* and *Sunderland*, both ſlain at *Newbery* firſt Battel, 17 *Septemb.* 1643.

The Earl of *Litchfield* ſlain at *Rowton-heath* in *Cheſhire*, 29 *Septemb.* 1645.

The Earl of *Kingſton* (Father to the Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*) ſlain at *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnſhire*.

The Lord *Francis Villiers* (Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*) ſlain at *Comb-Park*, 7 *July*, 1648.

Marqueſs *de Vieuville* (a Native of *France*) ſlain at *Newbery*, 17 *Septemb.* 1643.

The Lord Viſcount *Falkland* ſlain there alſo.

George Lord *D'aubigny*, Father to the now Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, ſlain at *Edg-hill*, 23 *Octob.* 1642.

The Lord *John Stuart* ſlain at *Alresford* in *Hampſhire*.

The Lord *Grandiſon* received his deaths wound at *Briſtol*, of which he dyed.

The Lord *Cary* (ſonne to the Earl of *Monmouth*) ſlain at

Marſton-moor, in *July* 1644.
Sir *Henry Conſtable* (Lord Viſcount *Dunbar*) ſlain in the ſiege of *Scarborough* Caſtle.
Baron D'*auneau* (a *Dutch* man) ſlain at *Nottingham*.
Lord *Widdrington* ſlain at *Wigan* in *Lancaſhire*, 25 *Aug.* 1650.

Baronets and Knights.

SIR *Edmund Verney*, his Majeſties Standard bearer, ſlain at *Edg-hill*, 23 *Octob.* 1642.
Sir *Bevil Greenvile* (Father to the now Earl of *Bath*) ſlain at *Lanſdown*, 5 *July*, 1643.
Sir *Nicholas Slanning* (Father of Sir *Nich. Slanning*, Knight of the Bath) ſlain at *Briſtol*, 26 *July*, 1643.
Sir *Richard Lawdy*, ſlain at *Cover* in *Glocesterſhire*.
Sir *Ingram Hopton*, and——
Sir *George Bowles*, both ſlain at *Winsby*, near *Horn Caſtle* in *Lincolnſhire*, *Octob.* 1643.
Sir *William Butler*, and——
Sir *William Clark*, both ſlain at *Cropedy-bridge*, 29 *Iune*, 1644.
Sir *Thomas Metham*, and——
Sir *William Lampton*, ſlain at *Marſton-Moor*, July 1644.
Sir *Anthony Manſel*, ſlain at *Newbery*.
Sir *John Smith* (brother to Lord *Carrington*) who reſcued the Kings ſtandard from the Rebels at *Edg-hill*, for which he was made Kt. Baneret, ſlain at *Alresford*.
Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, ſlain at *Newbery*, 27 *Octob.* 1644.
Sir *Henry Gage*, Governour of *Oxford*, ſlain at *Cullumbridge* near *Abington*, 11 *Ianuary*, 1644.
Sir *Michael Earnly* ſlain at the ſurprizal of *Shrewsbury*, 22 *February*, 1644.
Sir *John Girlington* ſlain near *Melton Mowbray* in *Leiceſterſhire*.
Sir *William Manwaring* ſlain at *Weſtcheſter*.
Sir *Richard Cholmly* ſlain neer *Lime* in *Dorſetſhire*.
Sir *Iohn Digby* (brother to Sir *Kenhelme*) received his deaths wound at *Langport* in *Somerſetſhire*, of which he ſoon after dyed.
Sir *Thomas Gardiner* ſlain in *Buckinghamſhire*.
Sir *William Croft* (brother to the now Biſhop of *Hereford*) ſlain at *Stokeſey* in *Shropſhire*, 9 *Iune*, 1645.
Sir *Peter Brown* of *Kiddington* in *Oxfordſhire*, was mortally wounded at *Naſeby* Battel, and dyed at *Northampton*.
Sir *Thomas Dallyſon*, and——
Sir *Richard Cave*, ſlain alſo at *Naſeby*.
Sir *Henry Fletcher* ſlain at *Weſtcheſter*.
Sir *Bernard Aſtley*, and——
Sir *Crane*, ſlain at the laſt ſiege of *Briſtol*.

Sir

Sir *Arthur Aſhton* ſlain at *Tredagh.*

Sir *Rich. Dacre* ſlain at *York.*

Sir *Rich. Hutton*, & Sir *Fran. Carnaby*, } ſlain at *Sherborn* in *Yorkeſhire.*

Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* the yonger ſlain neer *Ludlow.*

Sir *Will Wentworth*, Sir *Charles Slingsby*, Sir *Francis Dacre* } ſlain at the Battle of *Marſton-Moor.*

Sir *Rich. Goodhill* wounded in *Wales*, & dyed at *Worceſter.*

Sir *Brian Stapilton* ſlain at *Rowton-heath* in *Cheſhire.*

Sir *Lodowick Wyer* ſlain at *Banbury.*

Sir *Philip Biron* ſlain in the ſiege of *York.*

Sir *Nicholas Forteſcue* (Knight of *Malta*) ſlain in *Lancaſh.*

Sir *Troilus Turberville* (Captain Lieut. of the Kings Life Guard) ſlain upon his late Majeſties marching from *Newark* to *Oxford*

Sir *Nich. Kemiſh* ſlain at *Chepſtow* in *Monmouthſhire.*

Sir *Rich Gleddal* ſlain at *Marſton-moor.*

Sir *Thomas Tildeſly Major G* ſlain at *Wiggan* in *Lancaſh.*

Commiſſary General *Windham* ſlain before *Thornton houſe Yorkeſhire.*

Scout-maſter General *Francis Rowley*, ſlain at *Stow* in the *Wolds.*

Colonels.

Colonel *Thomas Howard* (ſon of the late Lord *Will. Howard*) ſlain at *Pierſ-bridge* in *Yorkeſhire.*

Col. *Charls Cavendiſh* (brother to the Earl of *Devonſhire*) ſlain neer *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnſhire.*

Col. *Thomas Howard*, (ſon of Sir *Fran. Howard*) ſlain at *Atherton-moor*, 30 *June*, 1643. The gaining that Battel was much attributed to his valour.

Col. *George Heron* of *Chipchaſe* in *Northumb.* ſlain there alſo *The bodies of theſe laſt two valiant Perſons, were buried in the Cathedral Church in* York *in one Grave.*

Col. *Cuthbert Coniers* ſlain at *Malpaſs* in *Cheſhire*, *Auguſt* 1644.

Col. *Ferdinando Stanhop* (ſon to the late Earl of *Cheſterfield*) ſlain at *Shelford houſe* 25 *Octob.* 1645.

Col. *Thomas Morgan* of *Weſton VVeſton* in *VVarwickſh.* ſlain at *Newbery* firſt Battle.

Col. *John Arundel* ſlain at *Plymouth.*

Col. *Hen Lunsford*, Col. *Buck*, Col. *Trevanian*, } ſlain at *Briſtol*, 26. *July*, 1643.

Col. *Hern* (ſon of Sir *Richard Hern*, and Col. *Beton*) } ſlain at *Gainsborough.*

Col. *John Marrow* ſlain at —— in *Cheſhire*.

Col. *Thom.* Dalton of *Turnham* in *Lancaſh.* mortally wounded at *Newbery* ſecond Battle, & died at *Marlborough*.

Col. *Bernard*, with divers other Gentlemen, put to the Sword at *Canon-Froom* in *Herefordſh.* July, 1645.

Col. *Middleton* ſlain at *Hoptonheath* in *Staffordſhire*.

Col. *Francis Hungate* of *Saxton* in *Yorkeſhire* ſlain at *Cheſter*.

Col *Nich. Mynn*, ſlain at —— in *Gloceſterſhire*.

Col. *William Bains* ſlain at *Malpaſs* in *Cheſhire*.

Col. *Billingſley* ſlain at *Bridgenorth* in *Shropſhire*.

Col. *Whitley* ſlain at *Conway-caſtle* in *Northwales*.

Col. *Pinchback* ſlain at *Newbery*.

Col. *Richard Fitzmorris* ſlain there alſo.

Col. *Richard Green* ſlain at *Beeſton caſtle* in *Cheſhire*.

Col. *Poſthumus Kirton*, and Col. *VVilli. Prideaux*, } ſlain at *M. Moor*.

Col. *Richard* Manning ſlain at *Aleſford* in *Hampſhire*.

Col *VVill. Ewr* (ſon to the late L. *Ewr*) ſlain at *Marſton-moor*

Col. *John Fenwick* (ſon of Sir *John Fenwick*) ſlain there alſo.

Col. *Blunt* ſlain at *Lime* in *Dorcetſhire*.

Col. *St. George* ſlain at the taking of *Leiceſter Town*.

Col. *Dalby*, Engineer General, ſlain at *VVingfield Manner* in *Darbyſhire*.

Col. *Caſſey Pental*, ſlain at *Stow* in the *Wolds* in *Gloceſterſh.*

Col. *Cuthbert Ratcliff*, ſlain at—

Col. *Philips* ſlain neer *VVincheſter*.

Col. *Taylor* ſlain at *Briſtol*.

Col. *William Wynn*, ſlain at *Wem* in *Shropſhire*.

Col. *Bawd* ſlain at *Naſeby* Battle.

Col. *Ralph Pudſey* ſlain at *Tredaugh*.

Col. *Cuthbert Cliſton*, ſlain at *Manchеſter*.

Col. *Leak* ſlain at *Newark*.

Col. *James Chidleigh* ſlain at *Dartmouth* in *Devon*.

Col. *Bowles* ſlain at *Alton*.

Col. *Hugh Windham* ſlain in *Dorceſhire*.

Col. *Richard Poor* ſlain at —— in *Wales*.

Col. *Pert* ſlain at —— in *Cornwal*.

Col. *Will. Walton* ſlain at ——

Col. *Bagot* ſlain at *Naſeby* batle.

Col. *Mich. Trollop*, and Col. *Math. Bointon* } ſlain at *Wiggan*, 25 *Aug.* 1650.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

LCol. *Thomas* Markham of *Allerton*, ſlain neer *Gainsborough*.

L. Colonel Monroe ſlain at the Battle of *Edg-hill*.

I. Col. *Lancelot Holtby* ſlain at *Reading*.

L. Col. *Colt* ſlain at *Radcot.*

L. Col. *George Preſton*, ſlain at *Bradford* in *York-ſhire.*

L. Col. *Howard* } ſlain at *Landſ-*
L. Col. *Ward* } *down.*

L. Col. *Richard Pavier* ſlain at *Lincoln.*

L. Col. *Edward Wyburn* ſlain at *Bazing-houſe* in cold blood.

L. Col. *Johnſon* ſlain there alſo.

L. Col. *Haggerſton* ſlain at *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire.*

L. Col. *Liſle*, and } ſlain at
L. Col. *Stonywood* } *Marſt. moor*

L. Col. *Jordan Metham*, ſlain at *Pontefract-Caſtle.*

L. Col. *John Gower*, ſlain at *Scarborough* in *York-ſhire.*

L. Col. *Thomas Ewre* ſlain at *Newbery* firſt Battle.

L. Col. *John Sayer* } ſlain at
L. Col. *Lawſon* } *Naſeby.* Ba.

L. Col. *Torham* ſlain at *Newbery* firſt Battle.

L. Col. *William Houghton* ſlain at *Newbery* ſecond Battle.

L. Col. *Phil Howard*, & } ſla. at
L. Col. *Mich Conſtable*, } *Cheſt*

L. Col. *Story* ſlain at —— in *Gloceſterſhire.*

L. Col. *Moyle* ſlain at *Briſtol.*

L. Col. *Ballard*, } ſla. at *Tak-*
and } *ton* in *Sum-*
L. Col. *Muddiford* } *merſetſh.*

L. Col. *Iones* ſlain at *Bridgewater.*

L. Col. *Slingsby* ſlain at *Newbery.*

L. Col. *Bolton* ſlain at *Nantwich* in *Cheſhire.*

L. Col. *Scot* ſlain at *Arlesford.*

L. Col. *Rich. Brown* (brother to Sir *George Brown*) ſlain at ——

L. Col. *John Godfrey* ſlain at *Tewksbury.*

L. Col. *Gerrard Salvin* ſlain at *North-Allerton.*

L. Col. *Congrave* ſlain at *Dean* in *Gloceſterſhire.*

L. Col. *Goodridge* wounded at —— and dyed at *Oxford.*

L. Col. *Tho. Salvin* ſlain at ——

L. Col. *Galliard* ſlain at *Wigan*, 25 *Aug.* 1650.

Serjeant Majors.

MAjor *Cufaud* ſlain at *Bazing-houſe* in cold blood.

Major *Huddleſton* ſlain at *York.*

Major *Ric. Harburn*, } ſlain at
and } *Malpaſs*
Major *Hesketh* } in *Cheſh.*

Major *Beaumont* ſlain at *Leeds* in *Yorkſhire.*

Major *George Pluckney* ſlain neer *Stomford* in *Lincolnſh.*

Major *Kendal* ſlain at *Briſtol.*

Major *Smith* ſlain at ——

Mjor *Pate* ſlain neer *Aſhby de-la Zouch* in *Leiceſterſhire.*

Major *Sheldon*, & } ſlain at
Major *Lower* } *Lansdown.*

Major *Rowely* wounded at *Naſeby* Battle, and dyed priſoner in *London.*

Major *Williams* ſlain in *South-Wales.*

Major *Thomas Vavaſor* ſlain at *marſton moor.*

Major *Threave* ſlain at *Torrington*

rington in *Devonſhire.*

Major *Dubleday* ſlain at——

Major *Trevillian* ſlain at *Newbery.*

Major *Turner* ſlain at——

Major *Richard* Norwood ſlain before *Taunton* in *Summerſetſhire.*

Major *Price*, and Major *Garner* ſlain at *Briſtol.*

Major *Michael Stanhop* ſlain at *Willoughby* in *Nottinghamſhire.*

Major *William Leak* ſlain at *Newbery* ſecond battle.

Major *Lawrence Clifton* ſlain at *Shelford houſe.*

Major *Pilkington* ſlain at——

Major *Armſtrong* ſlain neer *Oxford.*

Major *Dewet* ſlain at *Lechlade* in *Glouceſterſhire.*

Major *Pollard* ſlain at *Dartmouth.*

Major *Clark* ſlain a *York.*

Major *Mercaf* ſlain at——

Major *Panton* was wounded at *Cover* in *Glocesterſhire*, and dyed at *High-meadow.*

Major *Richard Sherburn* ſlain at——

Major *Holmby* ſlain at *Henly* upon *Thames.*

Major *Gilbert Markham* ſlain at *Naſeby* Battle.

Major *Wigmore* ſlain at *Ilmeſter* in *Somerſetſhire.*

Major *Simon Bridges* ſlain at *Perſhore* in *Worceſterſhire.*

Major *Wilſon* ſlain at *Naſeby* Battle.

Major *Spotſwood* ſlain at *Wem* in *Shropſhire.*

Major *Thomas Whitmore* ſlain at *Muſcum* neer *Newark.*

Majo *Deân* ſlain at *Briſtol*

Major *Dacre* ſlain at *Weſthoghton* in *Lancaſhire.*

Major *Salvin* ſlain at *York.*

Major *Walter Baskervile* ſlain at—— in *Bedfordſhire.*

Major *Bunnington* ſlain at *Leiceſter.*

Major *How* ſlain at *Keightly.*

Major *Robſon* ſlain at—— in *Durham.*

Major *Jenkins* ſlain at *Colam* in *York ſhire.*

Major *Wormly* ſlain at *Cirenceſter* in *Glouceſterſhire.*

Major *Daniel Thorold* (brother to Sir *Robert Thorald*) ſlain at *Naſeby.*

Captains.

CAptain *Marmaduke Conſtable*, Standard bearer to the Lord Gen. *Lindſey*, ſlain at *Edge-hill* Battle.

Captain *Henry* Byron, and Captain *Kingſmill*, ſlain there alſo.

Capt. *Wil. Laborn*, and Cap. *Mat. Andertó*, ſlain at *Sheriff. Hutton* in *York-ſh.*

Captain *Plunket* ſlain at——

Captain *Charls* Blount ſlain at *Glouceſter.*

Captain *John Lampton* ſlain at *Bradford* in *York ſhire.*

Captain *Joſeph Conſtable* ſlain at *Newbery* firſt Battle.

Capt.

Captain *William* Bowles ſlain at——

Capt. *Thomas Winkley* ſlain at *Leverpool* in *Lancaſhire*.

Captain *Thurſtan Anderton* wounded at *Newbery*, and dyed at *Oxford*.

Capt. *William Williamſon* ſlain at——

Cap. *Corniſham*, & Captain *James* } ſlain at *Lanſdown*.

Captain *Ratchiff Houghton* ſlain at *Preſton* in *Lancaſh*.

Captain *Hugh Hen* ſlain at *Farringdon*.

Captain *Goring*, and Cap. *Tho. Whitingham* } ſlain at *Newb*.

Captain *Hugh Haughton* ſlain at *Reading*.

Captain *Vaughan* ſlain at——

Capt. *Robert Molineux* ſlain at *Newbery* firſt Battle.

Captain *Charles Osburn* ſlain neer *Hartland*.

Captain *Fry* ſlain at *Torrington*.

Captain *Charls Thimelby* ſlain at *Worceſter*.

Captain *Robert Thimelby* ſlain at *Muſcam* neer *Newark*.

Captain *Cottingham* ſlain at——

Captain *Gardiner* ſlain at *Tame* in *Oxfordſhire*.

Captain *Waſhington* ſlain at *Oxford*.

Captain *Iohn* Bird ſlain at *Marſton Moor*.

Captain *Rich* ſlain at *Briſtol*.

Captain *Needham* ſlain at the ſurprizal of *Shrewsbury*.

Captain *Thomas Meynel* ſlain when *Pontefract* Caſtle was relieved by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*.

Captain *Fitz-James* ſlain at *Bridgewater* in *Somerſetſhire*.

Captain *Charls Stuart* ſlain at——in *Warwickeſhire*.

Capt. *Bunce*, and Cap. *Chriſt. Wray* } ſlain at *Bradford*.

Captain *Adam Girdler* ſlain at *Appleby Caſtle*.

Captain *Iohn Cliſton* ſlain at *Shelford-houſe*.

Captain *Redman* ſlain at *Pontefract Caſtle*.

Capt. *William Fenwick* ſlain at *Bolton* in *Yorkeſhire*.

Captain *Abraham Lance*, and Capt. *Robert Lance* (brothers) ſlain at——in *Cheſhire*.

Captain *Slany* ſlain at——

Captain *Coney* ſlain at *Whaley* in *Lancaſhire*.

Captain *Richard Wolfole* ſlain at *Newbery*.

Capt. *Chamberlain* ſlain at——

Captain *Farrier* ſlain at *Nantwich*.

Captain *Iames Baſſet* ſlain at *Lanceſton* in *Cornwal*.

Captain *Buſhel* ſlain at——

Captain *Edward Rowe* ſlain at *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire*.

Captain *Yeats* ſlain at *Cropredy bridge*.

Captain *Anthony Hamerton* ſlain neer *Mancheſter*.

Captain *William Simcots* ſlain at *Newbery* firſt Battle.

Captain *Gerrard* ſlain at——

Captain *Iohn Whitley* ſlain at *Harding* neer *Cheſter*.

Captain *Sares* ſlain at *Exeter*.

Captain *Thomas Singleton* ſlain at

at *Newbery* first Battle.

Capt. *George Holden* slain at---

Captain *Francis Erayngton* slain at *Rotheram* in *Yorkshire*.

Captain *Nich. Fitzakerly* slain at *Leverpool*.

Captain *Butler*, and Capt. *Maximil. Nelson*, slain at *Marston-moor*.

Captain *William Lampton* slain at *Wakefield*.

Captain *Topham* slain at *Carlisle*.

Captain *Baxter* slain at *Boughton* neer *Chester*.

Capt. *Henry Aldersey*, and Capt. *John Adlington*, slain at *Westchester*.

Cap. *Gilbert Markham*, Captain *Messenger*, Captain *Greenbury*, Capt. *Thomas Gough*, slain at *Naseby*.

Captain *John Rooksby* slain at *Sherburn*.

Capt. *Gascoign* slain neer *Melton-Mowbray* in *Leicestersh.*

Captain *Sanford* slain at *Nanswich*.

Captain *Gilbert Ashton* slain at *Bolton* in *Lancash.*

Capt. *Anth. Awd*, and Capt. *Tho. Cole*, slain at *Newark* in a Sally.

Captain *Huddleston* slain at *York*.

Captain *Dudly Smith* slain at *Roundway-Down*.

Captain *Samuel Wenman* slain at ——in *Devonsh.*

Captain *Ormshaw* slain neer *Oxford*.

Captain *Ioseph Davison* slain neer *Newcastle*.

Captain *Kenhelm Digby* (eldest son of Sir *Kenhelm Digby*) slain at *Neotes* in *Huntingtonshire*.

Capt. *Francis Clifton* slain at *Newbery* first Battle.

Captain *Standish* slain at *Manchester*.

capt. *Roger Houghton*, Capt. *Edward Bradley*, Captain *Meynel*, slain at *Marston Moor*.

capt. *Edward Wynn*, Captain *Swords*, Captain *Parry*, slain at *Denbigh*,

Captain *John Lance* slain at *Islip*.

Captain *John Caffey* slain at *Hereford*.

capt. *Anthony Girlington* slain at *Lancaster*.

capt. *Langdale* slain at *Creekowel* in *Wales*.

Captain *Carver* slain at—— in *Monmouthsh.*

Captain *John Lingen* (brother to Sir *Henry Lingen*) slain at *Lidbury* in *Herefordsh.*

Captain *Samwaies* slain at *Newbery* second Battle.

Captain *William Arundel* slain at *Plymouth*.

Captain *Francis Bartu* at *Newbery* first Battle.

Captain *Francis Godfrey* slain at *Sherburn*.

Captain *John Plumpton* slain at *York*.

Captain *Yate* slain at *Melton-Mowbray*.

Cap. *Haggerston* (eldest son of Sir *Tho. Haggerston*) slain at ——in *Lancash.*

Captain *Burgh* slain at *Cover* in *Glouceſterſh.*

Capt. *Rob. Townſend*, } ſlain
and } at
Capt. *George Emerſon* } *Edghil.*

Captain *Winkley* ſlain at *Leverpool.*

Captain *Thomas Anderton* ſlain at———

Captain *Rich. Walmſley* ſlain at *Orms-Church* in *Lancaſh.*

Captain *Richard Latham* ſlain at *Lichfield.*

Captain *Thomas Charnock* ſlain at———

Captain *Robert Dent* ſlain at *Newcaſtle.*

Captain *Will. Fenwick* ſlain at *Bolton-caſtle* in cold blood.

Captain *Themas Hesketh*, and Captain *John Knipe*, ſlain at *Brindle* in *Lancaſh.*

Captain *Thomas Eccleſton* ſlain at *Preſton.*

Captain *John Hotherſal*, and Capt. *Nicholas Anderton* ſlain at *Grenoc-caſtle* in *Lancaſh.*

Captain *Francis Rows* ſlain in *Dean-forreſt.*

Captain *Randolph Wallinger*, ſlain at *Cover.*

Capt. *William Rookwood* ſlain at *Alresford.*

Capt. *Robert Rookwood* ſlain at *Oxford.*

Captain *Hoskins* ſlain at *Lidny* in cold blood.

Capt. *Philip Danſey* ſlain at——

Capt. *William Jones* ſlain at *Ragland-caſtle.*

Capt. *Bradly* ſlain at *York.*

Capt. *John Butler* ſlain at *Marſton-Moor.*

Capt. *Henry Wells* wounded at *Newbery* firſt Battle, and dyed in Priſon at *London.*

Capt. *Richardſon* ſlain before *Taunton.*

Capt. *William Ilſley*, Adjutant to Sir *Thomas Tildeſley*, ſlain at *Wiggan.*

Inferiour Officers.

Lieutenant *Barbeck* ſlain at *Carliſle.*

Lieut. *William Butler* ſlain at *Newbery.*

Lieutenant *Richard Osbaldſton* ſlain at *Leeds* in *Yorkeſh.*

Lieut. *Hotherſal* ſlain at *Leverpool.*

Lieuten. *William Girlington*, ſlain at——

Leuten. *John Culcheth* ſlain at *Worral* in *Cheſhire.*

Lieut. *William Singleton* ſlain at *Marſton-moor.*

Lieutenant *Peter Boardman* ſlain at *Bradford.*

Lieut. *Cliſton* ſlain at *Burton* upon *Trent.*

Lieut. *Short* ſlain neer *Gloceſt.*

Lieut. *Richard Bradford* ſlain at *Blechington.*

Lieutenant *Iames Bradford* ſlain at——

Lieutenant *Thomas Kinſman* ſlain at *Lincoln.*

Lieutenant *John Birch* ſlain at *Birmincham.*

Lieuten. *Staley* ſlain at *Ruſhal-Hall.*

Lieutenant

Lieuten. *James Sidgrave* ſlain at *Burton* upon *Trent*.

Cornets.

COrnet *William Culcheth* ſlain at *Newbery*.
Cornet *Deinton* ſlain at *Cardiff*.
Cornet *Robert Lance* ſlain in ——*Cheſhire*.
Cornet *Edward Walker* ſlain at *Goodridge-caſtle*.
Cornet *John Emerſton* ſlain at ——
Cornet *Bennet Collingwood* ſlain at *Naſeby*.
Cornet *Geor. Gray* ſlain at——
Cornet *Thomas Baxter* ſlain at *Atherton-Moor*.
Cornet *Thomas Paſton* ſlain at *York*.
Enſign *Edward Walker* ſlain at *Burton* upon *Trent*.
With others.

Gentlemen Voluntiers.

EDward *Talbot* Eſq; (brother to the now Earl of *Shrewsbury*) ſlain at *Marſton-Moor*.
Edward Sackvil Eſq; (brother to the Earl of *Dorſet*) ſlain neer *Oxford*.
Charls Tonwley Eſquire, & Mr. *Charles Sherborn*, ſlain at *Marſton-moor*.
Edward Preſton Eſqu; ſlain at *Orms-Church* in *Lancaſh*.
Maſter *Edward Tarlton* ſlain at *Newbery* ſecond Battle.
Mr. *Sands* ſlain at *Arlesford*.
Mr. *Price* of *Waſhingley* ſlain at *Lincoln* in cold blood.
Mr. *Bale* ſlain at *Thorp* in *Leiceſterſhire*.
Mr. *Ralph Langton* ſlain at *Preſton*.
Mr. *John Conſtable* ſlain at—— in *Yorkſhire*.
Mr. *Steven Tempeſt* ſlain at the *Deviſes*.
Mr. *Iohn Latham* ſlain at *Newark*.
Mr. *Nicholas Thimbleby* ſlain at *Briſtol*.
Mr. *Pool* of *Worral* ſlain at——
Mr. *Ric. Latham* ſlain at *Litchf*.
Mr. *Jennings* ſlain at *Shelford-houſe*.
Mr. *Lewis Blount* neer *Manch*.
Mr. *Burſcale* ſlain *Newbery* ſecond Baatle.
Mr. *Courtny* ſlain at—— in *Lancaſh*.
Mr. *James Anderton* ſlain in *Wales*.
Mr. *Steven Pudſey* ſlain in *Holderneſs*.
Mr. *Fr: Pavier*, & Mr. *Chriſt. Anderton* ſlain at *Marſt.moor*.
Mr. *Charls Mohun* ſlain at *Dartmouth*.
Mr. *Creſcet* ſlain at *Bridgnorth*.
Mr. *Chriſtopher Blount* ſlain at *Edgbalſton-houſe*.
Mr. *Rob. Tempeſt*, } ſlain at
Mr. *John Dan* } *Newcaſtle*
Mr. *John Tipper* ſlain at *Newnham* in *Glocesterſh*.
Mr. *Francis Darcy* ſlain at——
Mr. *Theodore Kouſe* ſlain at *Langport*.

Mr.

Mr. *Gerard Salvin* ſlain at——
Mr. *Richard Laſhford* ſlain at *Langport.*
Mr. *Rob. Bowls*, & Mr. *William Stoner* ſlain at *Bazing-houſe.*
Maſter *Andrew Giffard* ſlain at *Hampton.*
Mr. *Thomas Roper* ſlain at *Goodridge caſtle.*
Mr. *James* Bantō ſlain at *Cover*
Mr. *Tho. Peterel* ſlain at *Stow* in the Wolds.
Alderman *Daviſon*, and Mr. *Tro. Ogle*, ſlain at *Newcaſtle.*
Mr. *St. Iohns* ſlain in the weſt.
Mr. *St. Paul* ſlain at *Marſton-moor.*
Mr. *Mort*, Mayor of *Preſton* ſlain there.
Mr. *Boniface Kemp*, } ſlain neer
Mr. *Ildefons Eſket*, } *York.*
Mr *Miles Lochard* ſlain at *Goodridge* Caſtle.
Mr. Geo. *Moor* ſlain in *Wales.*
Mr *Peter Davis* at *Denbigh*
Mr. *Edward* Davis at *Cheſter.*
Mr *Michael Wharton* ſlain at *Scarborough.*
Mr. *Errington* ſlain at *Cheſter.*
Mr. *Bret* ſlain at——
Mr. *Roger Wood* ſlain at *Cheſt.*
Mr. *Henry Lawſon* ſlain at *Malton* in *Yorkſh.*
Mr. *Tho. Craithorn* the elder at *Uphaven.*
Mr. *Kirby* of *Rawcliff* had 3. ſons ſlain.
Mr. *John Witham*, and maſter *Will. Selby* ſlain at *Preſton.*
Dr. *Weſtby* ſlain there alſo.
Doctor *Weſton* at——
With others.

Executed by Courts of Injuſtice, or Law Martiall.

THe Earl of *Strafford* beheaded on Tower-hil, 12 *May*, 1641.
Mr. *Robert Yeomans*, and
Mr. *George Bourchier* executed at *Briſtol*, 30 *May*, 1643.
Mr. *Nath. Tomkins*, } *London*,
and } 5 July,
Mr. *Chaloner*, } 1643.
Sir *Alex Carew* beheaded on Tower-hil, 23 *Decem.* 1644.
Captain *Hotham* beheaded there, 1 *January*, 1644.
Sir *John Hotham* there, 2 *Jan.* 1644.
Archbiſh. of *Canterb.* beheaded there, 10 *Januar.* 1644.
Sir *Charls Lucas*, and
Sir *Geo. Liſle*, ſhot to death at *Colcheſter*, 28 *Auguſt*, 1644.
Du *Hamilton* } behead in the
Earl *Holland* } Pal. yard *Weſt.*
Lord *Capel* } 9 *March*, 1649
Col. *Jo. Mirris*, & } at *York*, 23
Cor. *Blackburn* } *Aug.* 1649.
Mar. of *Montriſs*, } at *Edenburg*,
M. G Urrey, } 21 *May*,
Col. *Spotſwood*, } 1649.
Col. *Euſeb. Andrews* at Tower-hill, 22 *Auguſt*, 1650.
Sir *Henry Hide* neer the *Exchange*, 4 *March*, 1650.
Captain *Brown Buſhel* at *London*, 21 *April*, 1651.
Mr. *Love*, } beheaded at
Mr. *Gibbons*, } *Tower-hill.*

James

James Earl of *Derby* beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancash.* 15 *Octob.* 1651.

Col. *John Gerrard* at Tower-hill, 10 *July*, 1654.

Mr. *Peter Vowel* at *Charing-Croß*, 10 *July*, 1654.

Captain *Levins* at the *Old Exchange.*

Col. *Penruddock*, } at *Exeter* 16
Mr. *Hugh Grove*, } *May*, 1655.

Col. *Aſhton* in Tower-ſtreet.

Mr. *John Betley* in *Cheapſide.*

Ma. *Edmund Stacy* in Cornhill.

Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Doctor *John Hewet*, beheaded at *Tower-hill*, 8 *June*, 1651.

As a preſent Supplement hereto, give me leave to add the renowned and truly valiant perſon Captain *Morgan*, who was ſlain in that brave and onely reſiſtance the Earl of *Derby*, and Major General *Egerton*, with ſome few others, made againſt *Lamberts* Forces at *Northwich*, in Sir *George Booths* buſineſſe, and dyed revenged upon, and yet honoured by his Enemies.

POSTSCRIPT.

IT is very probable that the Names of ſome Perſons of quality, (who fel in this Noble Cauſe) are here (moſt unwillingly) omitted, as not come to the Collectors knowledge, other miſtakes, I hope not many.

Some knowing Cavaliers *yet alive, have made this Obſervation on the whole Collection, That it contains neer five hundred perſons of Condition, ſlain and put to death by the Rebels in the late Wars, of which above three hundred were* Proteſtants, *one hundred and fifty* Roman Catholicks, *and two* Presbyterians; *Concerning one of which two, I have little to ſay, becauſe I have not enquired into his Circumſtances; But I finde (in* Evangelium Armatum, page 44.*) the other dyed with the* Covenant *in his mouth, and (that being no time of diſſembling) we may charitably believe in his heart too.*

FINIS.

The Grenville Library